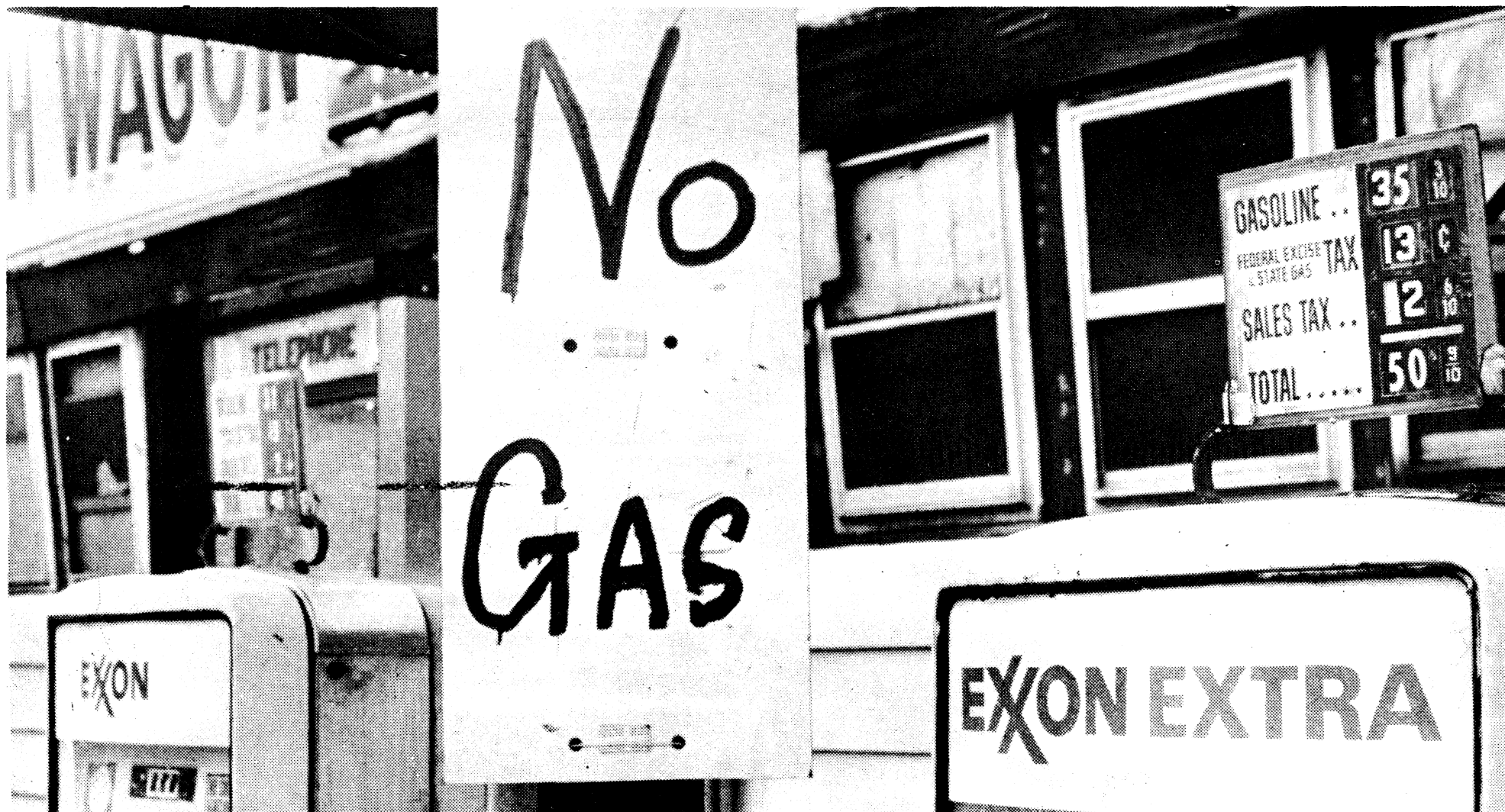


THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

What solution for 'energy crisis'?



Militant/Mary Hendrickson

The American people are beginning to suffer from fuel shortages contrived by profiteering oil trusts. For socialist view of 'energy crisis' see pages 4, 5.

Protest N.Y. terror bombing

In the early evening Dec. 3 a high power bomb demolished the New York offices of three national civil liberties organizations—the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

An Editorial

Two volunteers were seriously injured and most of the equipment of the three organizations was destroyed.

This was one of the most serious, and potentially deadly, acts of right-wing violence in recent years. Spokespeople for the three groups say the bomb went off at a time when there is usually the greatest number of volunteers working in the offices. It was purely coincidental that more workers were not there on Dec. 3, and that those present were not

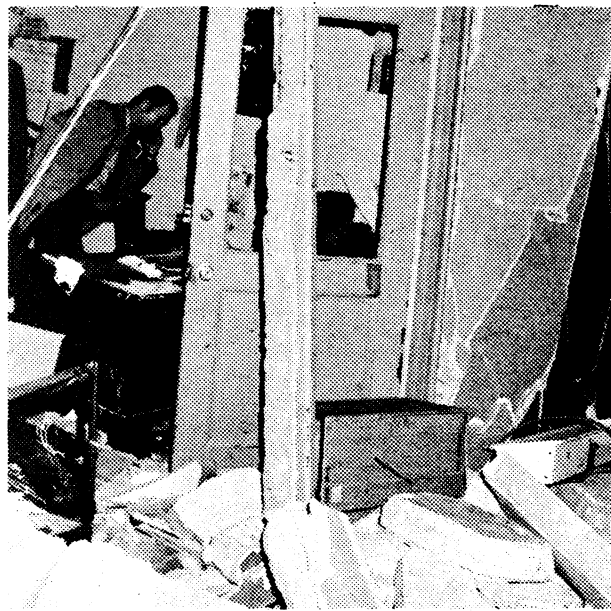
killed by the blast.

We don't yet know who carried out this vicious attack. The Watergate revelations have shown that the Nixon administration may well have been behind it, in league with ultra-rightists or local Watergaters in New York's police department.

Lessons learned from Watergate have also sensitized democratic-minded people to the grave threat that such attacks pose for democratic rights in this country. Only hours after the bombing, the victimized organizations began receiving offers of help and statements of solidarity.

Nixon would have plenty of reasons for putting all three of these organizations on his "enemies list." USLA is in the forefront of organizing opposition to the butchers that Nixon helped put in power in Chile—the junta of General Pinochet, which is responsible for the torture and slaughter of thousands of Chileans in the past three months.

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Militant/Jose G. Perez

Bombed-out offices shared by U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners and other civil liberties groups.

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NASHVILLE COPS GUN DOWN BLACK STUDENT: In the latest of a series of police killings of Blacks in Nashville, Tenn., cops shot down Ronald Joyce, a 19-year-old Black student at Tennessee State University.

One thousand Blacks, mostly students, marched through pouring rain to the Nashville Metro Courthouse on Nov. 26 to protest the killing, reports Militant correspondent Ben Harris. The demonstration demanded an independent investigation and the resignation of Police Chief Hugh Mott. Two days later, Mott resigned.

Ronald Joyce and seven other unarmed Black youths had been playing craps in an empty house on Nov. 23 when cops arrived on a tipoff about a burglary. According to an eyewitness, the police pulled up with their lights flashing, jumped out of their cars, and without any warning cut down Joyce as he and the others ran from the house.

Another witness said he saw "four officers jump out of their cars. Three had shotguns. I heard three shots and then one of the officers hollered 'halt.'"

Joyce was reportedly shot in the back of the head; police refused to release the medical examiner's report.

N.Y. HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS PROTEST CUT-BACKS: Four hundred Black and Puerto Rican high school students demonstrated for three hours outside the New York City board of education building on Dec. 4. They were demanding reinstitution of a government-funded program called "College Bound" that prepares poor youth for college.

The action drew students from five high schools. They chanted, "College Now!" and carried signs reading, "College is a Necessity!" and "Save College Bound!"

Because of cutbacks in government funds, College Bound has been scaled down to simply a remedial reading, math, and bilingual tutorial program.

Militant correspondent Betti Sachs writes: "According to the demonstrators, their classes have increased in size and the program no longer provides field trips and extra-curricular activities. Furthermore, while College Bound used to pay the costs of college applications and entrance exam fees, the students must now pay these themselves."

THOMAS WANSLEY JAILED AGAIN: Thomas Wansley, a 28-year-old Black man who has spent 10 years in prison on a long-discredited frame-up charge of raping an elderly white woman, in Lynchburg, Va., has been jailed again. A federal appeals court recently overturned a district court decision in January that had granted Wansley a new trial and released him on bail.

The district court judge ruled that Wansley did not receive a fair trial because of "shocking . . . prejudicial pretrial publicity." During the trial, local newspapers had falsely labeled Wansley a "convicted rapist" and claimed his lawyer, William Kunstler, was linked to "Communist-front organizations."

But the appeals court maintained that the newspaper reporting was "restrained and matter-of-fact" and ordered the Black man jailed.

Wansley's case was a focus of the Southern civil rights movement in the mid-1960s. Now supporters are again stepping up their efforts to free him.

WOUNDED KNEE LEADER SPEAKS IN MINNEAPOLIS: Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), spoke to an audience of 150 at the Minneapolis Militant Forum Nov. 30.

Bellecourt is one of more than 200 Indians under indictment from the Wounded Knee occupation; he faces seven charges, with a minimum sentence of 80 years if convicted.

He described how AIM was formed to deal with the problems that Native Americans face. It has grown from one chapter in 1968 to 67 chapters today, mostly on reservations. Seventeen chapters are in Canada.

Bellecourt called for building a massive defense effort, involving all organizations and individuals that oppose the frame-up of the Wounded Knee defendants. Some will be tried in St. Paul, Minn. Others are still awaiting a decision on where their trials will be held.

HIGH COURT RULES ON INDIANS' FISHING RIGHTS: The U.S. Supreme Court has overturned a lower court ruling that denied fishing rights to Washington Indians. On Nov. 19 the high court voted unanimously that Puyallup Indians have the right to net steelhead trout, on or off their reservations.

The ruling could have an important impact on a related case currently being tried in Tacoma, Wash. Fourteen Indian tribes are suing the state to win back their right to fish for steelhead, as guaranteed in an 1854 treaty.

The Supreme Court decision grants the state the right to determine how many fish the tribes may catch. Washington Indians are angry over this concession, since the state in the past has used this power to decide that Indians

may catch no fish at all. This is one of the issues in the Tacoma suit.

Ramona Bennett, chairwoman of the Puyallup Tribal Council, called the Supreme Court decision "a recognition of our rights," but she condemned the court's "recognizing a state authority to regulate which has previously been discriminatory to Indians."

FOUR FROM CHICAGO SEVEN TRIAL CONVICTED OF CONTEMPT: Despite testimony of government spying and harassment of the Chicago Seven defendants and their lawyers during previous trials, Judge Edward Gignoux found four of them guilty on charges of contempt of court.

William Kunstler, David Dellinger, Jerry Rubin, and Abbie Hoffman were found guilty and will face a maximum of six months when sentenced. Rennie Davis, Leonard Weinglass, and Tom Hayden were acquitted.

This contempt trial resulted from an earlier appeals court decision that threw out the Chicago Seven's conspiracy convictions and ordered a new trial on the contempt charges. The original trial stemmed from charges that the antiwar figures conspired to disrupt the 1968 Democratic Party convention.

TWO JDL THUGS FACE CRIMINAL CHARGES: Two members of the right-wing Jewish Defense League from Brooklyn College face third-degree assault charges for attacking James Mendieta, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn district attorney.

Mendieta stated in a preliminary hearing Dec. 4 that Alan Weissburg and Mitchell Yagid were part of a six-man team that brutally assaulted him on a Brooklyn street Oct. 24.

The attack occurred immediately after a pro-Arab meeting on the campus was broken up by the JDL. Mendieta required seven stitches to close his head injury.

The JDLers apparently mistook him for an Arab, since they yelled, "Kill the Arab bastard!" as they pounded him with a lead pipe. The trial is set for Jan. 8.

FINAL NEW YORK CITY SWP ELECTION RETURNS: Norman Oliver, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, tallied 2,282 votes, 0.2 percent of the total.

Joanna Misnik, SWP candidate for city council president, received 1,904 votes. Dick Roberts, SWP candidate for city controller, received 2,608 votes.

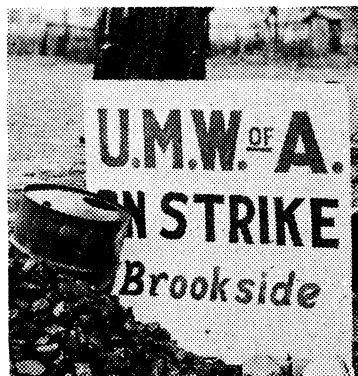
Other SWP candidates for boroughwide offices were James Mendieta, for Brooklyn district attorney, 1,847 votes; Mark Friedman, for Brooklyn council-at-large, 1,692 votes; Maxine Williams, for Brooklyn borough president, 1,932; B.R. Washington, for Manhattan borough president, 1,957; Richard Ariza, for Manhattan council-at-large, 965; and Eva Chertov, candidate for city council District 3, 334 votes.

The Communist Party candidate for mayor tallied 3,601 votes.

This election was marked by the lowest voter turnout in decades. In addition, the ballot in voting machines was arranged to make it difficult to find and vote for minor parties, which were crammed into a confusing jumble on one side of the ballot.

—BAXTER SMITH

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Michigan UFW boycotters defeat antipicketing injunction

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—The United Farm Workers and their supporters won an important victory here when an Oakland County judge backed down on his earlier injunction against any picketing of A&P supermarkets in Michigan.

In a new ruling Dec. 3, Judge William Hampton stated that the farm workers could have as many as eight pickets directly in front of a store's door. He put no limit on pickets around the store and no limit on boycott leaflets.

Hampton's reversal came in the midst of a public outcry against arrests of farm workers and their supporters Dec. 1. Eighty-one people were arrested while picketing A&Ps in Pontiac, Troy, and St. Clair Shores. They were among more than 700 picketers in 12 Michigan cities. All have since been released on their own recognizance or low bond.

Two hundred and fifty people protested these arrests Dec. 2 at a mass outside the Oakland County jail. The defiance of the injunction and the arrests broke the media blackout of the boycott. It was the first time that many in Michigan learned of the grape and lettuce boycott and the harassment of picketers.

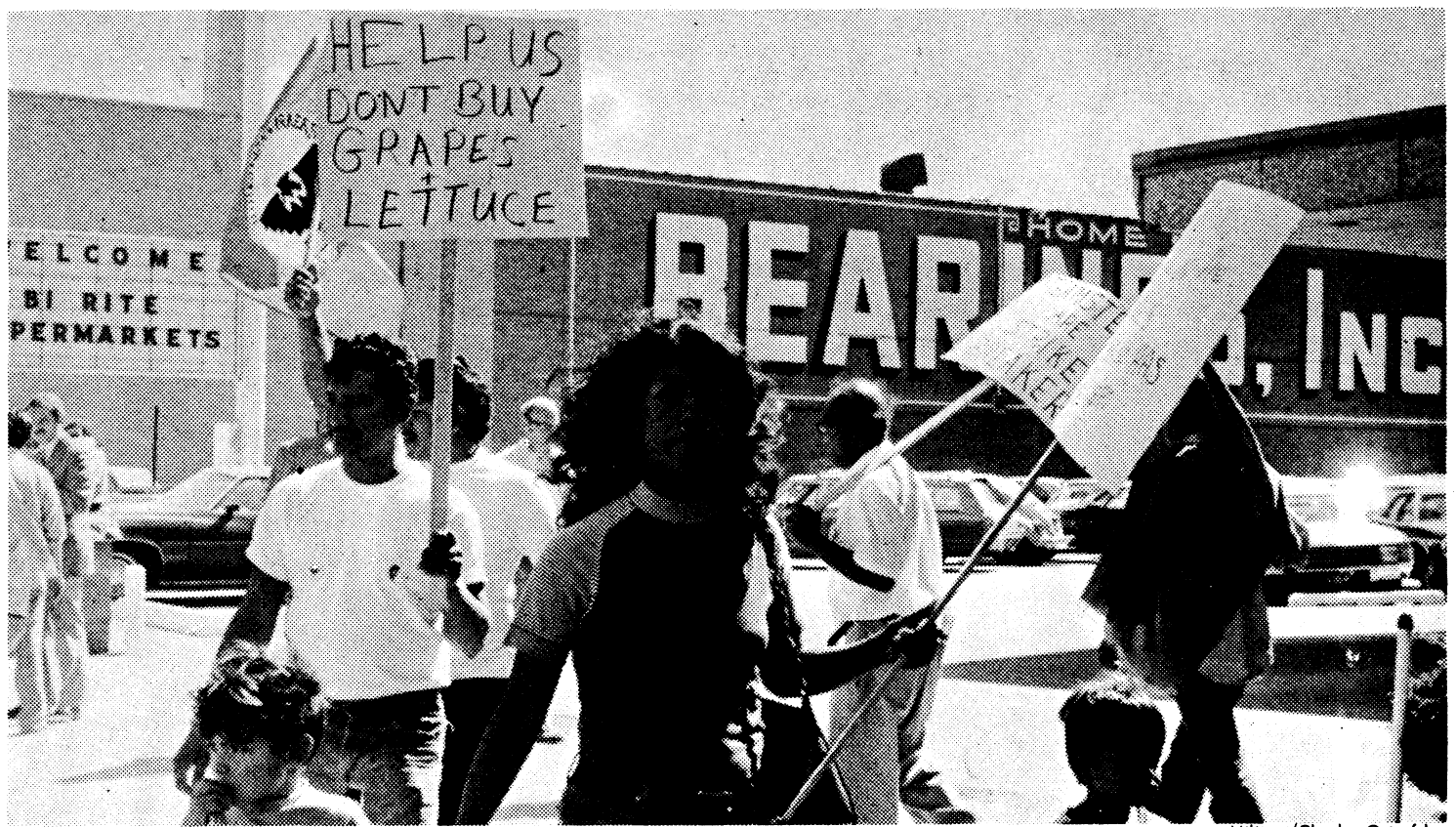
The A&P injunction was only the latest in a series of court orders against farm workers and supporters in this area. Pete & Frank's market and Farmer Jack's chain had earlier gotten injunctions from Hampton.

Attempts to fight the injunctions in the courts proved inconclusive and time-consuming. Picketing was called off pending the outcome in the courtroom. This apparently emboldened A&P to seek a similar injunction.

It became apparent to boycott organizers that observing the illegal injunction while appeals were made would effectively destroy the boycott effort this winter. They decided to defy the injunction with large numbers of pickets, rally public support to the farm workers, and force a court test.

Instead of dispersing pickets to every A&P in the area, organizers decided to focus on one A&P in each city. At the Highland Park A&P 80 people marched Dec. 1.

With 60 people at any one time, it was possible at the Highland Park store to block the entrances to the parking lot, giving supporters the



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Use of large picket lines and demonstrations to defeat Michigan picketing injunction is an example for boycott activists facing similar court orders elsewhere.

opportunity to discuss the boycott with motorists. There was also a picket line in front of the door to the store.

Each shopper received a leaflet explaining the boycott and urging them not to shop at A&P. Many turned away, promising they would observe the boycott. Pickets were enthusiastic and vocal, chanting, "Don't buy lettuce, don't buy grapes! Boycott A&P!"

Highland Park police originally announced they would arrest everyone marching. Pickets stood their ground, however, pointing out that the injunction was issued by a circuit court judge and therefore could not be legally enforced except in his county. They also pointed out that since farm workers are not covered by the Taft-Hartley Act, they are not subject to its outlawing of secondary boycotts.

The police read the injunction and stormed off to check with the city attorney. They came back several times but had apparently been told it was true, since no arrests were made at the store.

Boycott activists here feel this victory over the antipicketing injunction

shows the potential power of a massive boycott campaign and hope to continue organizing large picket lines against stores that carry scab produce.

More than 100 supporters of the United Farm Workers picketed two Safeway stores in Portland, Ore., for three days during the pre-Thanksgiving shopping rush.

Plans for the picket lines were publicized beforehand through a news conference Nov. 15. Speakers included Father Bill Davis of the Jesuit Provential House and Bill McCormack, secretary of the Columbia River District Council of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU).

McCormack focused his remarks on a resolution in support of the UFW-called boycott, recently passed by this ILWU district.

Joining the three days of picket lines were members of the ILWU, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and the Musicians Union; students from Reed College,

Portland State University, and Mount Angel College; and members of several churches.

In Chicago, religious, Black, and trade-union leaders have issued a statement backing the farm workers' struggle. It was signed by Robert Murrillo, United Steelworkers staff representative; Reverend Willie Barrows, Operation PUSH; and Ceferino Ochoa, Chicago Catholic Archdiocese; and others. The statement urges support for the grape and lettuce boycott.

VIVA LA HUELGA!

The Struggle of the Farm Workers

By Jose G. Perez 25 cents
Pathfinder Press, 410 West St.,
New York, N.Y. 10014

1,500 attend NY United Farm Workers rally

By RAY MARKEY

NEW YORK—Fifteen hundred people packed into Hunter College auditorium Nov. 29 to hear César Chávez, head of the United Farm Workers. The large turnout shows the broad support for the Farm Workers' struggle against the lettuce and grape growers and the Teamster officialdom.

The main theme of the rally was "Support the Boycott" of non-UFW grapes, iceberg lettuce, and Gallo wines.

Chávez asked the predominantly student gathering to support the boycott for as long as necessary. He predicted that the struggle will be a long one, but said, "The Teamsters, the growers, the sheriffs, and the judges can't stop us."

New York City Mayor John Lindsay also spoke, announcing that he has issued an executive order prohibiting the purchase of iceberg lettuce and grapes by city institutions. These in-

stitutions are among the largest buyers of lettuce and grapes in the country.

Lindsay also read a proclamation declaring Nov. 29 "Boycott Grapes and Lettuce Day."

Murray Finlay, head of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, expressed his union's support for the Farm Workers and for the striking Farah pants workers, most of whom are also Chicanos. He urged everyone to support the boycott of Farah slacks.

Larry Friedman, president of the National Student Association (NSA), called on students to "support, participate in, and publicize this boycott." The NSA has called for a student boycott of Gallo wines.

The most enthusiastic applause of the night was for Michael Mann, New York regional director of the AFL-CIO. He declared that the 14 million members of the AFL-CIO stand be-

hind the Farm Workers and will not allow the Teamsters or the growers to defeat their struggle. However, he failed to announce any specific measures planned by the AFL-CIO leadership to build the boycott.

George Altomare, vice-president of



Militant/Phil Reed

United Farm Workers head Cesar Chavez addresses 'Support the Boycott' rally.

the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), spoke, and a \$5,200 check from the New York State Federation of Teachers was presented to the UFW. When the name of UFT President Albert Shanker was mentioned, the auditorium filled with boos. It was clear that the racist UFT head had few friends in the audience.

Other speakers were Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and Henry Unger, a young Teamster staff worker. Pete Seeger and a trio of farm workers provided entertainment. A film was shown of the brutal attacks on Farm Workers pickets by Teamster goons and California police last summer.

The size and enthusiastic response of the crowd demonstrated the potential—as yet largely untapped—that exists to build large boycott activities all over the country.

Oil magnates set sights on No. 1 target: bigger profits through higher fuel prices

By DICK ROBERTS

The oil trusts are beginning to hit their number one target in the "energy crisis"—creating higher fuel prices. Union Oil, Shell, and Atlantic Richfield raised gasoline and home-heating fuel prices last week. They were followed quickly by Exxon, Sohio, and British Petroleum.

These price rises come before the direct effects of the Arab boycott have even begun to be felt. Tankers that left the Middle East before the boycott are still arriving in the U.S.

The U.S. oil industry registered profit increases of 63 percent in the third quarter of this year. British Petroleum's profit increase was a giant 483 percent, although its sale increased only 30 percent.

The present national fuel shortage is entirely the work of the oil trusts, which cut back on refining output last year and in the early part of 1973.

But the "energy crisis" is running into something the monopolist perpetrators may not have counted on: a stubborn wall of disbelief and resistance on the part of the American people.



While independent gas stations are going out of business because of 'energy crisis,' U.S. oil giants are enjoying 63 percent jump in profits.

On the highways across the country, hundreds of truck drivers blocked traffic. "The Great White Fathers back in Washington don't give a damn about truck drivers," said John Welcher, a Bennet, Iowa, driver. "We've got to shut down this country to show 'em what this is doing to us."

The independent drivers say that lower speed limits and higher fuel prices are costing them up to \$15 to \$20 a day. In some places they have found service stations charging double the previous prices for diesel fuel.

People are being forced to drive more slowly; to pay higher prices for gas and home heating; to work at cooler offices and plants; to breathe more rotten air; small businessmen like gas retailers are being driven out of business. No one likes it. More and more people are saying so and they are saying why. Particularly significant is the fact that the blame is increasingly being put where it belongs, on the oil trusts themselves.

Oil squeeze

Jack Anderson, the nationally syndicated columnist, declared in his Dec. 4 column: "President Nixon simply hasn't leveled with his fellow Americans about the fuel crisis. . . .

"Sources close to the oil industry tell us some suppliers are holding back fuel until prices go up. Then they will be able to sell the same fuel for higher profits. Other profiteers are diverting oil intended for the United States to foreign ports where prices are already higher."

In Denver, Nov. 28, the executive director of the Mid-West Electric Consumers Association, Fred Simonton, declared "we are being ripped off" by the major oil companies.

"Simonton said the major companies have made all the decisions about oil, and that the fuel shortage would continue even if Arab countries lifted their embargo on the sale of oil to the United States tomorrow," reported the *Rocky Mountain News*.

On the Dick Cavett show Nov. 29, ecologist Barry Commoner declared that the notion that oil reserves are running out is a myth. According to Commoner, there is at least a 30-year supply on hand.

Ralph Nader, on the same show, explained how the oil import program is actually designed to drive up the prices of U.S. oil: "Its ultimate effect is to force consumers to buy products made from high priced domestic oil . . . rather than from foreign oil available at much lower prices."

Commoner declared, "Don't ask the oil companies to produce more. Just subpoena all their records and see if they are making profits out of all the pain. . . ."

Interior Department

The Cavett show also reflected the deep suspicion that is growing of government agencies themselves. Central is the Interior Department front for the coal-mining and oil-industry monopolists.

Nader said, ". . . the Department of the Interior is already in 'accounts receivable' for the oil industry."

The White House meanwhile moved to strengthen the hand of monopoly in energy policy decisions. A new federal agency was created under William Simon to oversee all energy questions. A special agency within the Interior Department was activated to regulate fuel allocations, the Emergency Petroleum and Gas Administration (EPGA).

Simon came to the Nixon administration in December 1972 from the powerful investment banking house of Salomon Brothers, where he was a senior partner pulling in an estimated \$2,000,000 to \$3,000,000 a year.

The EPGA, according to Senator Lee Metcalf (D-Mont.) originated as "a shadow government agency which through Interior's Office of Oil and Gas, was maintained in standby readiness to mobilize and direct the Nation's petroleum and gas industries in the event of a national emergency."

Said Metcalf, "The table of organization of the Emergency Petroleum and Gas Administration lists 24 officials from Exxon, 22 from Shell, 20 from Texaco, 15 from Mobil, 14 from Atlantic Richfield, 12 from Sun Oil, 11 from Northern Natural Gas, 10 from Gulf. And so it goes, with officials from energy companies dominating most of the 476 positions already filled in this crucially important government agency now being quietly activated by the president. . . ."

A button being worn around New York sums it up: it merely says "Nixon."

Especially hard hit in the initial stages of the energy squeeze are the



Truck drivers' protests express sentiment of millions of working people who don't see why they should foot the bill for Nixon's 'energy crisis.'

small gasoline retailers. "Independent gasoline station chains are taking the brunt of the impact of tight gasoline supplies," Associated Press reported Nov. 23.

"According to one estimate, they may have lost as much as 20 per cent of their business volume nationally."

"One recent survey said members of a national independent retailers group had closed nearly 3200 of their 20,000 stations this year, almost half of them permanently. . . ."

"Unable to secure sufficient supplies, one independent company after another has closed stations. Some smaller chains have virtually gone out of business. Several major oil companies checked reported no similar permanent shutdowns."

Representative William Cotter (D-Conn.) summarized the state of legislation on oil-industry-offensive bills, and the Nixon administration intentions, in the House, Nov. 28. "I find it very revealing that [Nixon] is willing to spell out to the American people only two of these seven [energy] bills, the Alaskan Pipeline Act—which has since passed and been signed into law—and the energy research and development bill. . . ."

"He does not have the guts, however, to tell the American people that one of his bills is another Federal taxpayers bailout for the companies that polluted the Santa Barbara Channel."

"Nor will he discuss publicly another bill which would give the same oil companies that have experienced astronomical profits this year further tax breaks to 'encourage exploration.'"

"Nor will he tell the American people the fact that his bill to deregulate the well-head price of natural gas is



STEIN: Greed of oil companies doesn't faze him.

terribly controversial, could cost the American consumers an additional \$18 billion and contains no real guarantees that gas and oil companies which will reap this windfall profit will drill for more gas.

"Two of his other bills offer no solution to our immediate problem and raise some very serious economic and environmental problems which should be examined carefully, and not under the gun. I refer to the bill on siting of electrical power plants and the bill on standards for strip mining."

Voice of finance

One indication that the ruling class is beginning to think twice about popular resistance to the energy squeeze is the editorial stance of the *Wall Street Journal*. This influential paper of the financial barons has gone on a campaign to defend high oil profits.

In its Dec. 4 issue, the *Journal* opines that Nixon got rid of former energy-policy chief John Love because Love admits that "the public will not only be furious at the higher and higher prices but will also be outraged if this classic market solution causes profits to soar." But, says the *Journal*, Nixon administration officials Herbert Stein (chief economic adviser) and Treasury Secretary Shultz "are not horrified at oil-company profits, nor are we."

"In fact, if you look at profits not as a means to reward virtue but as a means to make the system work, they are just what the doctors ordered. No other measure short of sending the Marines to the Persian Gulf could increase the energy supply to meet the short-term problem."

It's quite a devastating argument! Either send in the Marines to protect the overseas oil investments or let the oil profiteers wring the necks of the public. There is "no other measure."

There are other measures, of course. But the *Journal's* editors won't consider them because they involve infringing on the "right" of the oil giants to squeeze the last drop of blood from the people in their never-ending drive for more and more profits.

A system that allows these giant monopolies to say, "We won't give you fuel until we can rake in super-profits without limits," is a system that has to go.

Rather than letting the almighty god Profit run our lives and threaten to drag the world into war, we should take over the oil corporations and nationalize them under workers' control. That would be a step toward a rational society, a socialist society, where production will be for human needs, not the private profit of a handful of rulers.

Socialist hits Nixon's 'freeze with honor'

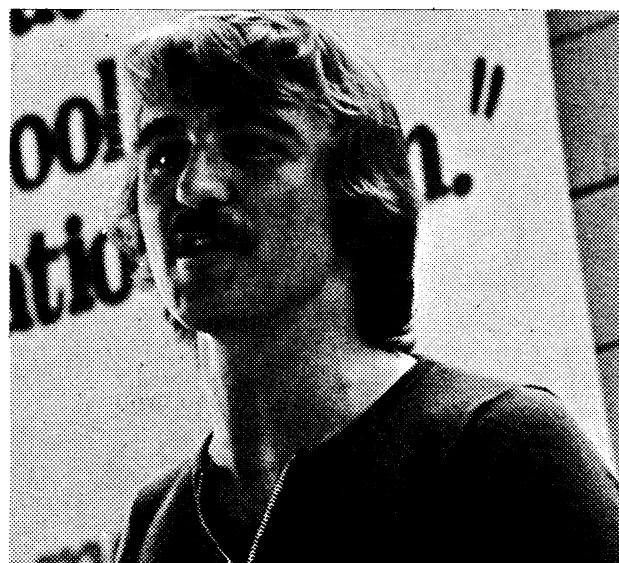
The following slightly abridged remarks were made by Ed Heisler at a meeting of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice in Chicago Nov. 29. Heisler, a 31-year-old railroad worker, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. senator from Illinois. He is running against Democrat Adlai Stevenson III.

The Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice organized a demonstration of 6,000 to 8,000 people in Chicago Sept. 8 to protest high prices and unemployment. Heisler served as chairman of its labor committee in helping to build that march.

Nixon went on nationwide radio and TV to announce a new attack on the living standards of working people and people who are unemployed and want to work. He said we are faced with an "energy shortage." I call it his "freeze with honor" speech.

For the past two years we have been faced with wage controls that have effectively held down the wages of workers. We have had cutbacks in social services, health, education, and welfare that hurt the poor, Blacks, and Latin people most. We've been faced with inflation, higher and higher costs, especially for things we need—like food. And now suddenly we have a fuel shortage. All of a sudden they can't find enough fuel.

The fuel shortage is designed to increase the profits of the oil trusts at our expense. And we, the people, are being called upon to sacrifice to serve the profit needs of the oil corporations. The oil shortage is a fraud because the oil giants like Texaco, Exxon, Mobil, and Gulf have deliberately curtailed the production of oil. They've deliberately cut their inventories, and they have stopped the



Militant/Howard Petrick

ED HEISLER: 'The fuel shortage is designed to increase the profits of the oil trusts at our expense.'

construction of oil refineries. There is not a single oil refinery under construction now in the United States.

Why have the oil trusts perpetrated this energy fraud on the American people?

First, they want to drive up the price of oil and increase their profits. In the third quarter of this year oil profits were up 63 percent from one year ago. But they want more.

Second, they want to drive independent refineries and retailers out of business. Already, over 2,000

independent gas station operators have been forced out of business and thousands more will follow. The oil trusts control 86 percent of the market. They want to control 100 percent of it.

Third, they want to construct the \$20-billion Alaskan oil pipeline without any further delays. Forget about environmental protection, they want that pipeline built.

Fourth, they want to wipe out all existing anti-pollution laws. You can forget about the Clean Air Act passed in 1970. Substantial sections of that act will now be violated with congressional approval. They can pollute the land, the water, and the air we breathe all they want. The major corporations will not have to spend billions of dollars to install antipollution devices.

Fifth, the oil companies want to increase the consumption of coal. That may sound contradictory; it's not. The oil companies have bought up 30 percent of the coal reserves, including high-sulphur coal.

Sixth, the oil companies want to whip up racist, anti-Arab sentiment by claiming the Arab oil cutoff is primarily responsible for the fuel shortage. Less than 8 percent of our oil comes from the Middle East, and before the cutoff the government imposed limits on oil imports into this country.

So the fuel shortage is a fraud from the word "go." The oil trusts have contrived this energy crisis in order to achieve their economic objectives at our expense.

We'll be deprived of heat. Landlords will be doing their patriotic duty by cutting our heat off. So we can freeze with honor. Now, of course, Nixon's not going to freeze. He's usually in Key Biscayne or San Clemente.

Unemployment is going to increase. Thousands of working people are already being laid off due to the fuel shortage.

The price of utilities will be driven up. Shortages of many commodities will develop. The prices of food, clothing, and shelter—the things we need—will escalate.

Now, what can we do about it? Obviously we must do something. I'd like to offer a few suggestions for discussion.

First, the oil trusts operate in complete secrecy. They don't release any information about anything they do. Try going down to the Standard Oil building and tell them you would like to see all their facts and figures on where they're refining oil, and how much, what they have on reserve. Ask them any questions and they'll kick you out of the office.

They aren't telling anything. It's all a big secret. We should demand that all these oil trusts open up their books, all of their records and plans, and all of their correspondence for our inspection. We have a right to find out exactly what they are doing and why. No secrets! We should demand they open their books to inspection by unions and community groups.

Second, there should be no layoffs due to this contrived fuel shortage. No one should be put out of work. We demanded in our demonstration here Sept. 8 "Jobs for all." We still want jobs for all.

I was active in the antiwar movement back in 1964 and '65 when most people supported or went along with the Vietnam war. People didn't know the truth about the war. So one of the first



'We all have our burdens to bear'

activities of the antiwar movement was organizing meetings to get out the truth. We called them teach-ins.

We might consider organizing a big public meeting with competent speakers who are familiar with this fraud to get out the truth on the so-called energy crisis.

Question: You said let's go to the Standard Oil Company. I represent 3,700 people myself (United Auto Workers representative). How do you propose to go into a private industry and ask to see their books?

Answer: A lot of people are going to be up in arms over this fuel crisis; they are really going to feel it. If we can organize a big successful meeting, the media would be there, and a motion could be presented to the body that a delegation made up of trade unionists, representatives of community organizations and ecology groups be sent to the office of Standard Oil to demand the right to see their books. The press would be there and if they say, "No," that means they are hiding something, right? That would help educate people and would demonstrate that the oil trusts are hiding something and that this energy crisis is a fraud. That is one possible way of doing it.

Question: How would you deal with the question of layoffs?

Answer: There is one simple way to fight on that question, especially when workers have a union. We should spread the available work to all of the workers and reduce the workweek without any reduction in pay, so that everyone is working who wants to. That can be done.

It might cut into the bosses' profits a little bit, but that's tough! We have to live, too. That's what this system means, profits come first and we come last. And we have to fight that.

Capitalist aim: beat back ecology gains

The air is getting fouler, the land will be despoiled, the water mucked up with oil spills. These are some of the immediate effects of the manipulation of our energy supply by the oil monopolies.

These tyrants are determined to beat back the gains of the environmental movement to clear their way for hauling in even more profits.

Maurice Granville, chairman of the board of Texaco, put it bluntly: the so-called energy crisis has helped the oil industry in "correcting the over-reaction to environmental and consumerist concerns reflected in current statutes and regulations," he said. These laws are all too weak as they are now; but they only exist because of pressure from masses of people who protested the ravaging of our environment by profit-mad corporations—the energy industry foremost among them.

Stewart Brandberg, head of the Wilderness Society, which fought against the Alaska pipeline, summed up what's going on: "The moneymaking interests are obviously mounting a massive strategy to undo all the constructive environmental programs."

For its part, the National Association of Manu-

facturers is urging "removal of arbitrary restrictions on the development of energy sources."

Some of the "arbitrary restrictions" to be removed involve limits or prohibition on: burning high-sulfur coal; strip mining; off-shore oil drilling; shale oil mining; and expansion of nuclear power facilities. The Alaska pipeline has already been approved.

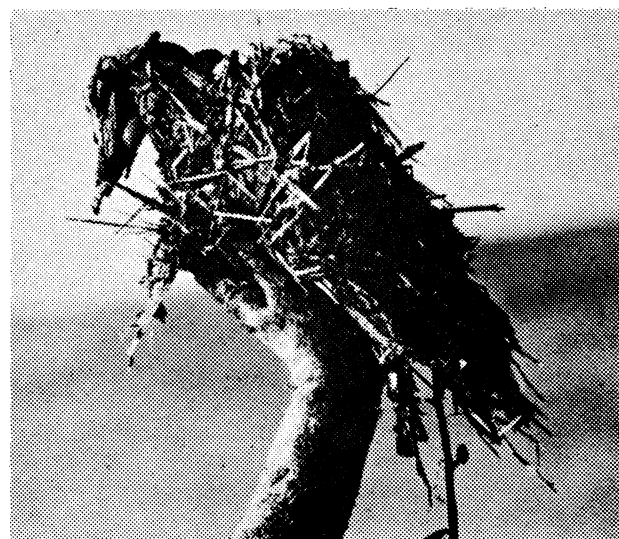
To take just one example, the Nixon gang has decided to open up vast expanses of federally owned shale-oil reserves in the Rocky Mountain states to private developers. It's possible that nuclear bombs will be exploded underground to heat the rock and release the oil.

Alternatively, gigantic mounds of the rock can be dug up and processed. But, unlike coal, the rock actually takes up more space after the oil has been removed, since it's broken up. This scrap will be strewn all over the place. When it rains, residual salts would be released and swept into rivers, polluting the water.

But, says Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, "Some impacts on the air, water, land, wildlife, and

the remote and primitive quality of the area on and around the prototype sites are unavoidable."

"Unavoidable," that is, if money is to be made.



A bird, victim of oil spill. Destruction of environment is worth it to capitalists if profits are involved.

Saigon steps up attacks

U.S. threatens to renew Vietnam bombing

From Intercontinental Press

"Only a handful of people know how tempted President Nixon was to order the resumption of limited, punitive bombing of North Vietnam in early September. This action was under consideration in Washington because Hanoi had not responded to Nixon's demand to dismantle Soviet-built SAM-2 missile sites at Khe Sanh. Before taking the bombing step, however, Nixon turned to Moscow. Under strong Soviet pressure, the North Vietnamese agreed to dismantle the sites in South Vietnam and move them back to a position just north of the 17th Parallel, where the Americans were prepared to accept Hanoi's argument that they serve as defensive weapons."

This small item, which appeared in the "Intelligence" column of the November 12 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, underlines the actual nature of the "peace" in Indochina—continued attacks and threats by Washington and Saigon against the liberation forces under the guise of enforcing the terms of the Paris accords. Thus, to give his recent escalation of "land-grabbing" operations the cover of "defensive actions," Thieu charged that the North Vietnamese and Provisional Revolutionary Government forces are planning an offensive against Saigon. Such charges are intended to justify the continued military aid that the Pentagon has been pouring into Thieu's coffers.

Those who thought congressional "antiwar" legislation would bar a resumption of U.S. bombing are in for a rude awakening. Defense Secretary James Schlesinger told a November 30 news conference that Nixon could

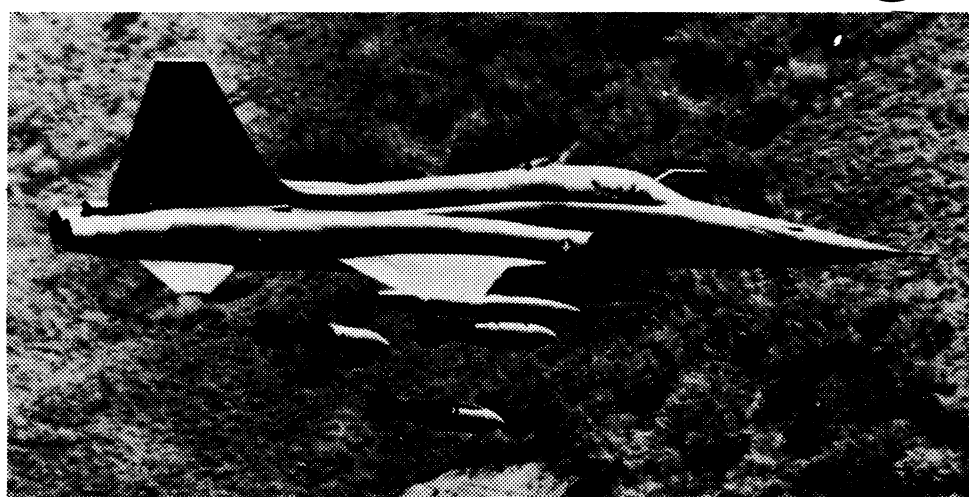
order renewed bombing on the authority of the War Powers Act passed last month by Congress over Nixon's veto. That is the opinion of State Department legal specialists, Schlesinger said.

The War Powers Act was hailed by most liberal politicians as a reassertion of congressional authority over warmaking—a measure that would prevent future Vietnams. In reality the bill authorized the president to commit troops to combat for 60 to 90 days without any congressional approval.

This provision, the White House now says, supersedes legislation that was supposed to outlaw any further U.S. military action in Indochina. Schlesinger's action in publicity calling attention to this interpretation was a direct threat against the Vietnamese.

For its part, the PRG has been responding to the attacks of the Saigon regime. On October 15, the PRG issued an order to its forces "to redouble vigilance and to respond with arms and appropriate forces anywhere as long as Saigon continues acts of war and sabotage" of the Paris accords. David Binder, reporting in the October 25 *New York Times*, noted that some U.S. national security officials considered the North Vietnamese "build-up" in the south as simply a move "to protect Communist enclaves and base areas in the South from incursions by the South Vietnamese [sic]."

Such incursions took on a broader dimension in the province of Tay Ninh, an area controlled by the liberation forces. James M. Markham, in a November 24 dispatch from Saigon to the *New York Times*, reported that the



In blatant violation of Paris treaty, Nixon plans to give Thieu new fighter-bombers with higher bomb payloads to replace F-5s like this one.

Saigon Air Force had staged more than 100 bombing raids against the airfields of Katum and Thien Ngon, in Tay Ninh. Saigon sources said this was the heaviest bombing since the signing of the Paris accords in January.

In addition, heavy fighting has also been waged in the Mekong Delta over control of the fall rice harvest. A battle on November 21 left more than 100 dead there.

Colonel Le Nguyen Vy of Saigon's Fifth Infantry Division, harping on the possibility of a Hanoi-PRG offensive, told *New York Times* correspondent James F. Clarity on November 21 that Saigon could use more American military support. "We do not think you will send troops," Clarity quoted him as saying, "but we need arms, fuel. And we would need air support, tactical and strategic. . . . We need support like the support you give Israel."

Just eight days later, Clarity reported that "knowledgeable South Vietnamese Air Force officials say they are convinced that the United States will soon begin replacing Government fighter-bombers destroyed since the cease-fire with faster, more maneuverable models of the supersonic planes." The Saigon officials expected delivery of the first three or four planes before the end of the year and of 100 by the end of 1974. The new F-5Es are reputed to have greater "defensive" capabilities than the old F-5s for aerial dogfights—yet there have been virtually no dogfights since the beginning of the war. Perhaps Thieu wants the F-5Es because they carry larger bombloads than the old F-5s.

Just as the attacks of the Saigon regime began to pick up, Peking gave the knife of betrayal another twist. On November 23, Nguyen Huu Tho, president of the Provisional Revolu-

Continued on page 22

Protest U.S. mayors' conference

15,000 march for Puerto Rican independence

By JOSE G. PEREZ

SAN JUAN, P.R. — Shouts of "Yanqui Go Home!" resounded through one of the plush tourist districts of San Juan as 15,000 to 20,000 proindependence demonstrators marched to protest a convention of U.S. mayors being held here.

Other popular chants at the Dec. 2 march were "Against the High Cost of Living—Working Class Fight United!" and "Puerto Rico Socialist—Out with the Capitalists!"

Gerald Ford, Nixon's vice-presidential nominee, had been scheduled as a featured speaker at the mayors' gathering. But the politically embarrassing prospect of thousands of Puerto Ricans demonstrating against him and the mayors led to the cancellation of Ford's speaking engagement. Phony "security" reasons were cited.

The demonstration was called by an ad hoc coalition of proindependence organizations and individuals, including the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP); the recently founded Movimiento Socialista Popular (MSP—Popular Socialist Movement); and Carlos Gallisá, a proindependence and socialist legislator in the Puerto Rican House of Representatives.

The march was also sponsored by the two large socialist groups on Puerto Rican campuses, the Juventud Independentista Universitaria (JIU—Pro-Independence University Youth) and the Federación Universitaria Pro-Independencia (FUPI—Pro-Independence University Federation.)

The JIU and FUPI initiated committees on many campuses to mobilize



Militant/Jose G. Perez

San Juan. Demonstrators raised demands against superport, against high cost of living, and for freedom for political prisoners.

students for the march. Most of the demonstrators were young people.

The march was followed by a short rally addressed by Noel Colón Martínez, chairman of the organizing committee for the march.

He explained the five main slogans of the march: Independence Now; Against the Superport; Free Puerto Rican Political Prisoners; Against the High Cost of Living; and Against Discrimination against Puerto Ricans in the United States.

These slogans, he said, summarized some of the main problems facing

Puerto Rican working people. He pointed to the Yanqui mayors as representatives of the force that oppresses Puerto Ricans both in the U.S. and on the island, that is, the U.S. imperialists.

Many marchers noted that this demonstration was significantly smaller than the one held two years ago protesting a similar U.S. governors' conference. The size of the earlier march had been estimated at 50,000 to 100,000.

A significant reason why this year's march was smaller was the refusal

to participate by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), led by Rubén Berrios.

Two years ago the PIP joined with other groups in sponsoring the march. This time, instead of cosponsoring the demonstration, the PIP leadership organized a boycott of it, saying that mass marches are not an effective means of struggle. It counterposed a campaign to have PIP activists visit every home on the island during the weekend of the march.

One building action for the march drew more than 2,000 people to demonstrate in front of La Fortaleza, the governor's mansion in San Juan, on Nov. 28.

That demonstration also brought together two unions now striking against the government and a coalition of private university students, who were demanding that the government continue to provide scholarship funds.

At the joint protest in front of La Fortaleza it was announced that the governor's office had agreed to provide \$4-million for scholarships in the coming year, about the same amount provided this year. The government had previously planned to provide no scholarship funds for private university students in 1974.

This aid is particularly important because private colleges have a much higher percentage of working-class students than the public higher education system.

As of Dec. 2, however, the government has still refused to give in to demands for higher pay and better working conditions for striking firemen and workers at the government's automobile insurance administration.

W'gate shakes illusions in system

Poll: 'Something deeply wrong' with gov't

By CAROLINE LUND

Along with this week's batch of scandalous revelations came results of a survey showing that Watergate has made most Americans lose confidence in almost all the basic institutions of this society.

A majority of those questioned—53 percent—thought "there is something deeply wrong in America."

According to Louis Harris—who was commissioned to do the opinion poll for the Senate Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations—this was the first time a majority had felt this way since the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Senator Robert Kennedy in 1968.

The survey was conducted this fall, prior to Agnew's resignation. The purpose of the poll was to compare the feelings of the public with those of politicians in office. Not surprisingly, while most people felt pessimistic and alienated from the government, the officeholders expressed the view that everything was fine.

According to the *New York Times* account of the survey, the capitalist politicians said the problems producing public cynicism were "transitory."

But this is not the way most Americans look at it. Asked what they thought was wrong with the country, people most often cited corruption, greed, and secrecy in government, and the threat to personal privacy from "wiretapping and spying under the excuse of national security."

Seventy-two percent cited economic problems as another cause of their loss of confidence in the government.

The *Times* summary of the survey said "Of many familiar institutions in society—including medicine, the military, organized religion, government, universities and labor unions—only television news and the press have risen in the public's esteem since 1966."

While 45 percent of the public felt that the "quality of life" in this country has deteriorated in the past 10 years, only 6 percent of the capitalist politicians felt it had deteriorated, and 84 percent claimed it had improved.

Measured against a "scale of alienation" that Harris has been using for 10 years, it was found that 55 percent of the public "expressed disenchantment," as compared with only 29 percent in 1966.

The conclusion of the survey, as expressed by the *Times*, was that people are "disillusioned, disenchanted and cynical," while elected officials are "out of step with their constituents."

This poll is one of the most extensive surveys in recent years to shed light on the process of radicalization affecting millions of people, a process that has been given a new impetus by Watergate as well by the inability of the government to do anything about skyrocketing inflation.

The poll clearly shows the problem for the ruling class that lies at the heart of Watergate: how to restore illusions (i.e. "confidence") in the institutions of capitalist society that are being exposed as corrupt and undemocratic by the continuing Watergate revelations.

The message of this survey has not been lost on the ruling circles. They are doing everything they can to work out a way to get rid of Nixon as painlessly for their system as possible. The *New York Times*, a mouthpiece for powerful sections of the capitalist class, warned in an editorial Nov. 29 that "to let the case against Mr. Nixon ferment in its present imprecise and emotional political context much longer" would be "dangerous" and "would perpetuate the mood of distrust and despair" among the public.

Meanwhile, scandals continued to proliferate, including the following:

- On Nov. 30 the *Washington Star-News* exposed the fact that at least 40 foreign correspondents have been on the payroll of the CIA, using their newspaper jobs as "cover" for spying operations.

After a review of the situation, CIA director William Colby ordered the continuation of the program. "Authentic sources" told the *Star-News* that the CIA also plans to continue the "quiet, informal relationship" that has existed for years between reporters and editors both here and abroad, who regularly pass information to the CIA without ostensible payment.

Revelations by columnist Jack Anderson have shown the interlocking nature of spying operations by both the CIA and the capitalist political parties. Last August, Anderson revealed that Seymour Freidin, London bureau chief for the Hearst press, worked as a political spy for the Committee for the Reelection of the Presi-

dent (CREEP) in 1972, while in the 1950s and 1960s he had been a paid informer for the CIA while a reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune*.

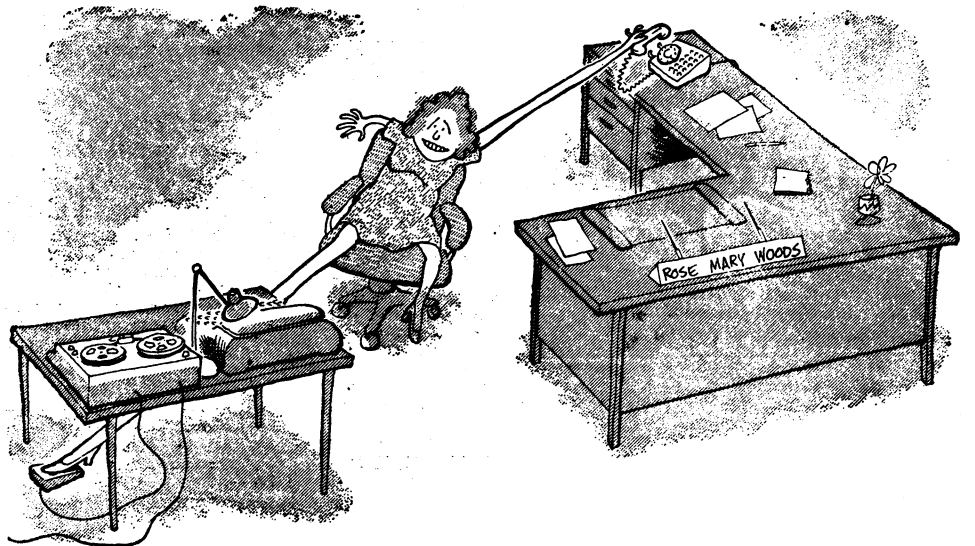
- Nixon's new efforts to "explain" his personal finances have fallen flat. The White House released a report by an accounting firm trying to show how Nixon could have paid legally for his luxury estates, but "the figures simply do not add up," concluded the editors of the *New York Times*.

It has also been revealed that Nixon put \$100,000 in his friend Bebe Rebozo's bank just at the time billionaire Howard Hughes had given Re-

- Jack Anderson reported in his Dec. 2 column, "We have now painstakingly traced at least \$5-million from oil and gas sources into President Nixon's campaign" in 1972.

Anderson guesses that "this may help explain why the great oil crisis doesn't seem to have hurt the big oil companies. Only their customers are suffering."

Three days earlier Anderson revealed that a contribution of \$250,000 from the Hospital Supply Corporation in 1972 was followed by the appointment of John Hill, a Hospital Supply vice-president, to an advisory commit-



By Auth See the Philadelphia Inquirer

bozo \$100,000, supposedly for the Nixon election campaign. Both Hughes and Rebozo are heavily involved in investments in gambling casinos in Nevada and the Bahamas.

- In response to the growing evidence that Nixon used his office to enrich himself, the president made a desperate attempt to appear as a public benefactor by suggesting that he plans to donate his estate to the public after his and his wife's deaths.

The White House has also put out a brochure inviting government agencies to use the "Western White House" for their meetings—as well as fishing, swimming, bullfights, and other entertainments. This was to try to make the San Clemente estate appear not to be just Nixon's personal mansion. The government officials will be flown to California at public expense, of course.

tee of the Cost of Living Council, which recently announced approval of a 9 percent increase in hospital bills.

Last month the council also cut back pay raises won by poorly paid New York hospital workers, most of them Black, Puerto Rican, and female.

- Still other revelations were coming out on Nixon's use of the Small Business Administration to buy support for his administration from Blacks. In particular, a congressional subcommittee is investigating charges that administration favors went to Dr. Thomas Matthew of the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization (NEGRO)—a group promoting Nixon's "black capitalism"—and to pro football player Bennie McRae, who campaigned for Nixon in 1972.

- On the White House tapes front,

Continued on page 22

Anti-Nixon suit by SWP hits new 'enemies list'

Hundreds of new names on the White House "enemies" list have come to light, including the name of Debby Bustin, a plaintiff in the suit against government Watergating by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

Bustin, who was the SWP candidate for mayor of Atlanta this fall, was placed on the secret list because of her role in the antiwar movement. As a leader of the Student Mobilization Committee (SMC), she signed her name to an antiwar ad in 1971.

A copy of the ad, with the names of all the signers, was later distributed to White House aides with a cover letter reading, "Please add the attached to your copy of the Opponents List."

Other names in the ad are Jerry Gordon, Ruth Gage-Colby, and James Lafferty, of the National Peace Action



Militant/Lenny Goodman
Antiwar and socialist leader Debby Bustin is one of Nixon's 'enemies.' Here she speaks to 500,000 antiwar demonstrators at Capitol, April 24, 1971.

Coalition; Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Denver Crusade for Justice; José Angel Gutiérrez, Texas Raza Unida Party; Coretta Scott King; and members of Congress, trade-union leaders, and other activists in the peace movement. The ad asked for contributions to build antiwar demonstrations on Oct. 13 and Nov. 6, 1971.

The Dec. 4 *New York Post* reported an additional new list of "enemies," including former undersecretary of state Averell Harriman, Clarence Mitchell of the NAACP, and all 100 people who sponsored a dinner for United Auto Workers official Victor Reuther in 1972. The *Post* said the list includes 500 names in all.

The revelation of the new White House "enemies" confirms the charge that antiwar leaders and socialists have also been singled out for vic-

timization by the Nixon administration.

This pattern of harassment by the government is the focus of the suit filed by the SWP and YSA. The two groups charge Nixon and other government officials with use of Watergate-style tactics against their members and election campaign supporters. Bustin and six other SWP candidates for mayor in the 1973 elections are plaintiffs in the suit.

The suit demands an injunction against government wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, surveillance, bombing, and other forms of harassment and intimidation. It also seeks a ruling that the attorney general's "subversive" list—the "legal" enemies list—is unconstitutional.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing publicity and fund-raising activities to back the suit.

Coast to coast solidarity with bomb victims

Supporters of democratic rights from around the country have voiced an immediate response in defense of the three civil liberties organizations whose offices were dynamited in New York Dec. 3.

The three groups that were victims of the attack are the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL).

Chapters of USLA and PRDF in several cities organized news conferences immediately after the bombing to denounce the attack and appeal for broad support.

At the time of the bombing, the San Francisco Bay Area USLA chapter was building a rally and teach-in on political repression in Chile and Brazil. At the news conference held Dec. 5 to announce these activities, protests were also raised against the bombing of the USLA national office.

Catherine Siskron of USLA told the well-attended news conference that "our rally and teach-in take on an additional meaning since this bombing—not only as a rally in defense of Latin American political prisoners, but also to show that we will not be intimidated by terrorist actions similar to those used by the Chilean junta to suppress civil liberties in Chile." Alan Grady of the PRDF also spoke.

Ying Lee Kelley, Berkeley city councilwoman, told reporters, "On Monday the USLA office in New York was bombed. . . volunteers were badly hurt. Their blood joins that of countless people who are prisoners because our government helped to destroy the democratic governments of Chile and Brazil."

Another Berkeley councilwoman, Ilona Hancock, stated, "It is my hope that the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners will not be intimidated by this brutal attack but instead will carry on their work to inform Americans of the injustices committed by Latin American regimes upon those who dissent."

California Congressman Ronald Dellums, who provided a room for the news conference, sent a statement condemning the attack and saying that "such violent actions demonstrate the fear that many in our country have for those who actively embrace humanistic goals."

Statements of solidarity also came from the North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA), Non-Intervention in Chile (NICHE), and

state legislator Willie Brown.

Other prominent individuals sent statements to the national office of USLA. Corliss Lamont said: "This was an outrageous thing to bomb these offices, and it was done by people opposed to the policies of the organizations in the offices. As chairman of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, I denounce all such acts of violence and call upon the New York City police to find the criminals and give greater protection."

Journalist Nat Hentoff said, "I'm glad but not surprised that USLA will not be intimidated by this act, which characterizes the kind of opponents they have in Latin America as well as here."

Feminist Betty Friedan stated, "I am horrified at this increase in violence against those who oppose reactionary regimes."

In Chicago, political and labor figures released a common statement reading: "We vigorously condemn the criminal and cowardly bombings of the New York offices of the Political Rights Defense Fund. This attack on an organization dedicated to human and civil liberties is an attack on the rights of all Americans. We demand that the federal, state, and local governments concerned carry out a vigorous investigation of this attack and prosecute the perpetrators to the fullest extent of the law."

The statement was signed by: Reverend Jesse Jackson of Operation PUSH; Charles Hayes, district director, Chicago-area United Auto Workers; Jim Wright, staff representative from UAW Chicago district; Neal Bratcher, director, district number 3 AFSCME; Robert Vaughn, Amalga-



CHARLES HAYES: Prosecute the bombers

mated Clothing Workers; Donald Jones, American Federation of Government Employees; Tommy Brisco, American Postal Workers Union; Lillian Jamison, Shoe Workers union; and Jack Spiegel, Shoe Workers union.

In Denver a news conference was organized Dec. 5 by representatives of the PRDF, the Socialist Workers Party, as well as Lovida Rodríguez of the Weld County Raza Unida Party and Linda Wine of USLA.

A statement of solidarity was sent by three student leaders from Denver North Community College: Black Student Alliance president Darryl Clark, student government president Jim Krasovish, and school newspaper editor Dan Sullivan.

The student leaders called the bombing "a blatant act of terror aimed at silencing this organization [USLA] and intimidating all those who oppose the policies of the Chilean junta."



RON DELLUMS: Helps Bay Area USLA chapter.

NY pickets outnumber Chile junta backers

By MEG ROSE

NEW YORK—Twelve hundred demonstrators protested a benefit concert held here Dec. 5 for the Chilean junta, refusing to be intimidated by the bombing attack two days before on the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). In spite of a drenching rainstorm, the demonstration was spirited and larger than the attendance at the pro-junta concert.

USLA and the Chile Solidarity Committee (CSC) cosponsored the action. The demands were for an end to repression in Chile, a halt to

U.S. aid to the junta, and U.S. asylum for refugees from Chile.

Other groups sponsoring or participating in the demonstration were the Carlos Feliciano Defense Committee, United Farm Workers, Young Socialist Alliance, North American Congress on Latin America, Young Workers Liberation League, Coalición de Latinoamericanos y Amigos de Latinoamérica, Socialist Workers Party, and Communist Party.

Individuals endorsing the protest included Nat Hentoff, Betty Friedan, Noam Chomsky, Jules Feiffer, and

Annette Rubenstein.

Shouting, "Chile, Sí! Junta, No!", "USA Out of Chile!" and "Pinochet! Assassin!", the demonstrators chanted the loudest whenever people arrived across the street at Town Hall auditorium to attend the concert for the Chilean butchers.

Protesters also held a short rally. Speaking for USLA, Patti Iiyama urged opponents of the junta to organize similar actions wherever representatives of the Chilean military regime appear.

Iiyama described the Dec. 3 bombing of the USLA office here and an-

nounced that USLA is stepping up its campaign in defense of Chilean political prisoners and all victims of repression in Latin America. Now more than ever, she explained, a united show of strength against the terror of the Chilean junta and its supporters in the U.S. is necessary.

Professor James Ritter, who was in Chile at the time of the coup and who was beaten in prison, described the junta's assassination and torture of political prisoners. "This," he said, "is what the junta claims is necessary to get back to normalcy and 'restore' Chile!"

Representing the Chile Solidarity Committee, Alan Howard spoke on the role of the U.S. in the Chile coup and the economic aid given to the Pinochet regime by American imperialism.

José García, a WNET-TV newscaster recently fired for criticizing the coup, was scheduled to speak as well, but the rally had to be shortened because of the weather. Before his ouster by the network owners, García was the producer of a popular weekly show, "Realidades," with a wide audience of Spanish-speaking New Yorkers.

Following the coup in Chile, he produced a special program on gains won during Allende's regime and the role of companies like I.T.T. After the first showing of the program, repeats were canceled, the videotape partially destroyed, and García was fired.

USLA has initiated a campaign to publicize García's case and is currently petitioning to win back his job. USLA is also demanding that the film be restored and shown again to the public.

Defend Chile political prisoners

Among the thousands of political prisoners whose lives are in danger in Chile, there are a number of political and cultural figures whose cases are being specially publicized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). This effort has put the spotlight on the repression in Chile and maximizes the possibility of saving the lives of these and other victims of the reactionary junta.

Among the cases being singled out are those of Marxist scholars Luis Vitale and Hector Gutiérrez. Both are professors and authors who have long been active in the labor movement. They are members of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization.

Both are being held incommunicado, and reports from Chile indicate that Gutiérrez is expected to

face a military tribunal in the near future if he hasn't already. Friends and supporters of Vitale and Gutiérrez in Chile have asked for international support for demands that organizations such as the Red



LUIS VITALE: Life in danger

Cross and Amnesty International be permitted to interview them, to determine the state of their health, and to inform the world of their situation.

Another political figure whose plight USLA is focusing on is Chilean Communist Party head Luis Corvalán. According to reports in the Soviet newspaper *Pravda* cited in the Dec. 4 *Daily World*, Corvalán has been taken to the notorious island prison of Dawson in the subarctic zone of Chile. Prisoners in this concentration camp have little chance of survival.

USLA asks that organizations and individuals send telegrams or letters of protest concerning these political prisoners to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1730 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D. C.

Deadly bomb destroys offices

Terrorists attack NY civil liberties groups

By CAROLINE LUND

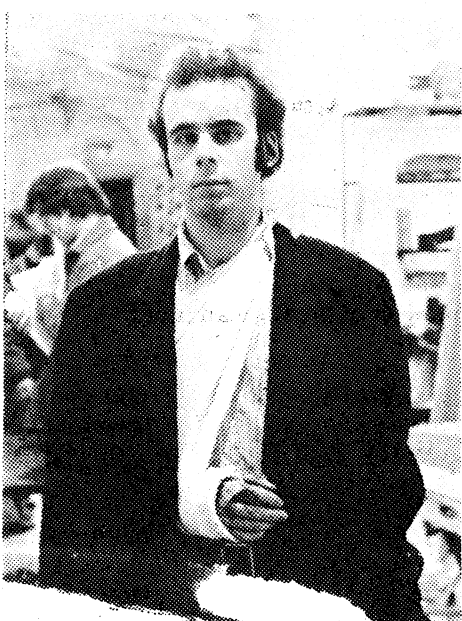
NEW YORK—At 7:15 p.m. on Dec. 3 a powerful bomb destroyed the offices of three organizations fighting for democratic rights and injured two volunteers working there.

It was only by coincidence that the offices were not filled with more volunteers and staff workers. The blast was strong enough to have killed anyone near it.

Those injured—21-year-old Karen Clahassy and 23-year-old Caleb Murdock—were from the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). They were in the office working to build a demonstration sponsored by USLA, the Chile Solidarity Committee, and many other organizations, against a representative of the Chilean military junta. The junta representative was scheduled to speak two days later at Town Hall, attempting to generate support and funds for Chile's rightist regime.

Since the Sept. 11 coup in Chile, USLA has been in the forefront of publicizing and protesting the executions, torture, and denial of civil and human rights by the military regime there.

The two other organizations that use the same offices with USLA are



Militant/Caroline Lund

USLA volunteer Caleb Murdock suffered fractured arm. Another activist was hospitalized with skull fracture.

the Political Rights Defense Fund and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is organizing support for a suit against the Nixon administration for using violence, sabotage, and spying against the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws (CoDEL) has fought for equitable treatment for smaller parties and Black and Puerto Rican candidates in national and local elections.

There is no proof as yet of who is responsible for the bomb, representatives of the three groups said at a joint news conference the day after the bombing. However, each of the spokespeople pointed out compelling reasons why it could have been directed at any one of them.

Standing amidst the rubble in the gutted offices, Caleb Murdock told *The Militant* what the blast was like. "The first thing I felt was a tremendous pressure from the explosion," he said. "It was like my chest was collapsing. Then all the lights went out and it was chaos, with things falling and

flying all over."

Murdock suffered a fractured arm and lacerations requiring 15 to 20 stitches, as he was flung against a bookcase. He had brought along the blood-soaked shirt that he was wearing at the time to show reporters at the well-attended news conference.

Karen Clahassy, the other USLA volunteer, was hospitalized with a skull fracture and a four-inch gash on her head.

The bomb, which police experts called a "high yield" device, demolished several walls, and blew out the doors and internal mechanisms of three elevators on the third floor of the

Appeal for help

At a news conference Dec. 4 the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, and the Political Rights Defense Fund made a special appeal for financial contributions and other forms of support to enable them to continue with their work.

Judy White of USLA said the three groups have to find new offices as well as replace typewriters, mimeograph machines, furniture, and supplies destroyed by the bomb attack on the offices they shared. She estimated that to get set up again in new offices the three groups would need a total of \$8,000 to \$10,000.

Contributions should be sent to each of the groups at the address of the destroyed offices: 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Volunteers are also needed. Phone numbers in New York are: USLA, 691-2880; PRDF, 691-3270; and CoDEL, 691-3495.

office building. Police said the explosion was of such intensity that it would be hard to tell much about the type of device used.

The explosive was placed behind a radiator in the hallway, directly in front of the doors to the USLA, PRDF, and CoDEL offices.

Judy White, a staff member of USLA, told the press she would not be surprised if the bomb was the work



Militant/Caroline Lund

Syd Stapleton of Political Rights Defense Fund appealing for emergency support.

of pro-junta Chileans or anti-Castro Cubans in solidarity with the junta. "But we will not be intimidated by these kinds of tactics," she stated. She said the committee would redouble its efforts to build a large demonstration against the junta spokesman's New York appearance.

"This kind of violence is exactly what we are opposed to in Chile," she continued.

Sydney Stapleton, national coordinator of the PRDF, noted that the suit his organization is pursuing accuses the Nixon administration of responsibility for bombing attacks and other acts of violence against the Socialist Workers Party during the past several years.

Herbert Jordan, one of the attorneys for the SWP suit, attended the news conference. He told *The Militant* that while there is no proof of who did the bombing, "the type of lawlessness at the highest levels of the government, or that has been condoned by the highest levels of government, certainly has created a climate of attacks on the left such that no holds are barred in relation to tactics."

Jordan is from the law firm of noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin, who is in charge of the suit. Boudin also led the defense of Daniel Ellsberg, victim of Nixon's "plumbers unit."

Also present at the news conference was Judy Baumann, national secretary of CoDEL. The election rights organization has become well known in New York City recently for challenging the undemocratic election in School District 1 last May. A court suit by CoDEL and the NAACP asks that the elections be overturned on the grounds that they were discriminatory against Puerto Ricans, Blacks, and Chinese.

"It's not out of the question that this attack was directed against our activities in support of the right of the Black and Puerto Rican community of District 1 for democratic school board elections," said Baumann.

"There has been a lot of violence directed against the community-control supporters in District 1," she noted.



Militant/Caroline Lund

Bomb blast could easily have killed anyone near it.

"During the fraudulent school board elections last spring, the offices of the Negro Action Group were totally destroyed, and last month the school district offices were broken into and vandalized."

She pointed to the possibility that the right-wing Zionist Jewish Defense League may have been involved in the bombing. "They have broken up meetings of community-control supporters in District 1, and they are certainly known for this kind of tactic."

In the news conference, Judy White demanded the the city administration and police department move immediately to arrest and prosecute the bombers. She pointed to the need for public pressure to achieve this, in view of the fact that the police have not brought to justice the perpetrators of a whole series of right-wing bombings against groups in New York City. She cited bomb attacks against Local 1199 of the Drug and Hospital Union, the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party, and the Center for Cuban Studies.

SWP condemns police inaction

The following statement was released by Norman Oliver, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for mayor of New York in last month's elections.

The SWP urges the broadest possible protests demanding apprehension of those responsible for the murderous bombing attack on the offices of the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the Political Rights Defense Fund, and the Committee for Democratic Election Laws.

The Socialist Workers Party has been the victim of many such attacks in the past, most of them carried out by right-wing groups in league with the government. This is the pattern for Nixon administration attacks on protest movements that has been exposed through Watergate.

It is precisely this kind of violence and sabotage against groups on the

left that my party is challenging through its suit against the Nixon administration. The Political Rights Defense Fund is engaged in publicizing this suit.

I also solidarize myself with the goals of the two other organizations victimized by this bombing—USLA and CoDEL—both of which were fighting for greater democratic rights, in this country and in Chile.

Whoever was responsible for this bombing, one thing is clear. The Nixon administration bears responsibility for creating the political climate and standards in which such acts of violence against the left are both encouraged and condoned.

If the New York Police Department and city administration really wanted to bring to justice the perpetrators of this cowardly act they would have no problem doing so.

Only through broad public protest can the city be forced to bring the bombers to justice.

...terror bombing

Continued from page 1

The Political Rights Defense Fund is organizing support for a suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Nixon administration violence and sabotage against the left.

The Committee for Democratic Election Laws has provided legal services and generated public pressure to win equal political rights for smaller political parties, young people, and Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican voters. CoDEL has challenged the monopoly that Nixon's friends, the billionaire corporation magnates, have on the political process in this country.

This bombing fits the pattern of a whole series of attacks against labor, Black, socialist, and antiwar organizations in the past. In Los Angeles, Houston, and Chicago, the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party were subjected to arson, firearm, and burglary attacks. The Cuban counterrevolutionaries, Klansmen, and ultrarightists who carried out these attacks have been linked with agents of the CIA, White House "plumbers," and other government agencies.

Watergate has shown that contrary to the slander about "leftist terrorists," the government itself is the master bomb thrower. It was an agent from the New York police department who procured the explosives and instigated the plan to blow up the Statue of Liberty in 1965. FBI informer Larry Grathwohl has told how he was key in procuring explosives and carrying out the Weathermen bombings in 1969-70.

The police and government waste no time in arresting and framing up leftists for "conspiracy" or "possession" of explosives even when no bombings have occurred, (as in the case of Puerto Rican activist Carlos Feliciano). But they give protection and encouragement to racist, right-wing terrorists who attack organizations fighting for democratic rights and social justice.

The silence of Mayor John Lindsay and mayor-elect Abraham Beame in the face of this bombing is another example of official sanction and go-ahead to groups like the ultraright Jewish Defense League and Cuban counterrevolutionaries who are notorious for violent attacks in New York City.

Why won't Beame or Lindsay see to it that the perpetrators of this latest bombing are brought to justice? Are they afraid that such arrests might bring to light a whole network of links between the New York police department—which in turn has close links to the CIA, FBI, and the White House—and the string of terrorist acts against Black, Puerto Rican, antiwar, and socialist groups in New York City?

USLA, PRDF, and CoDEL have vowed they will not be intimidated by the Chilean junta's agents, the JDL, or Nixon's "dirty tricks." All *Militant* readers are urged to come to the defense of these three organizations. We must protect the right to dissent and to organize politically without being set upon by thugs, spies, and bombers inspired by the government.

Imperialist threats

"The Arab leaders are in serious danger of overreaching themselves in employing their oil weapon so extravagantly," warns the Dec. 2 *New York Times*.

"If driven to a point of economic desperation," the *Times* editors wrote, "various governments might move toward far more ominous steps to eliminate an embargo threat hanging over their every foreign policy decision."

The *Wall Street Journal* raised similar warnings in a front-page article the following day. Lindley Clark Jr. wrote, "King Faisal and other Arab leaders surely know that Europe and Japan will not indefinitely accept oil curtailment." A corporation executive is quoted approvingly for suggesting that "certainly, if all else fails, one cannot rule out a European-based expeditionary force into the Arabian Gulf."

The danger of military moves in the Middle East on the part of the imperialist powers is real. Such actions are a basic component of imperialist foreign relations. The predatory powers that live off the wealth of the colonial world maintain a worldwide terror machine precisely to protect their "interests" in other people's countries.

The racist campaign against the Arabs, who dared to assert their interests against the imperialists, is designed to foster a political climate that would permit new U.S. military adventures. Those who support the right of the Arab peoples to control their own affairs and their own resources must be on the alert to counter any such moves.

Likes to sell

I like to sell *The Militant* and even more so to read it. It has a lot of good information in it about the oil monopolies, and Marxism, and also about the Arab and Israeli revolutions.

D. B.

Monsey, N. Y.

Contribution

Success in the Militant Fund. Enclosed is my contribution of \$10. Sorry I couldn't send you the check sooner. *The Militant* is a good paper, impressive these days.

R. G.

Lakewood, N. J.

Workers' reaction

Workers at plant gates are increasingly saying, "I don't want to read about that son of a bitch!" (meaning Nixon, of course).

The articles on the history of the Mideast wars were first class and sold two subs for me at work. Very good!

Enclosed is \$75 toward the Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

R. H.

Cleveland, Ohio

'Energy crisis'

As an environmentalist and a socialist, I want to thank you for the coverage of the "energy crisis" in *The Militant*, and for pointing out the real reasons for this sudden crisis.

For many years I have been trying to convince people of the need for careful use of the environment and its resources. Politicians have usually been the last to support these needs, claiming that we have unlimited supplies of technology and resources. After their lack of concern for so long, they expect the American public to believe that there is a sudden energy crisis, which just arose in the last month or so.

I am sure that after the profits have been made and the so-called energy crisis disappears as fast as it appeared, the capitalists will once again show their complete lack of concern for environmental issues.

Carole Lesnick

Madison, Wis.

No coincidence

Please cancel my subscription. Immediately.

I have found your newspaper to be totally negative, close-minded, and immature in its "solutions." Has it ever been brought to your attention that your opinions tend to be the opposite of the Nixon administration? I see this as no coincidence.

T. Berkman

Houston, Texas

Mideast solution?

I enjoy your informative paper even if it is biased. It's good to hear the other side of arguments. I'd like to offer one unbiased solution to the Mideast crisis.

1) Give the Golan Heights area

that Israel took during the 1967 war back to Syria.

2) Make Israel concede the land it took on the West Bank of the Jordan. This land could be used to form an independent nation for the Palestinians.

3) Make Jerusalem an international city.

4) Make Israel give Egypt a 10-mile strip on the east bank of the Suez Canal.

5) Give the rest of the Sinai region to the United Nations.

In order for this solution to work both sides must give up things they want. The world's powers must do something quickly to stop further wars and to help the oppressed Palestinians.

L. H.

Washington, D. C.

Oil shortage

There's a simple solution to the present shortage of oil in the United States. All the United States has to do is to stop sponsoring Israel and stop supplying her with arms. Then the Arab oil-producing countries probably will be willing to produce and sell us all the oil we need or may want.

There's nothing impractical, immoral, or against the "national interest" in this procedure.

J. Sternbach

Flushing, N. Y.

Unprintable

Israel is not an imperialist country. An imperialist country is one under the control of monopoly capital and which exports capital. This does not apply to Israel and you know it. In other words, you are deliberate liars.

There is something rotten about a party claiming to be Marxist that does not oppose capitalism and military dictatorships in Arab countries but concentrates on a tiny country of less than three million. According to your twisted minds Faisal, Hussein, the oil sheiks, and Pompidou are "progressive" while Israel is reactionary and expansionist.

Israel has not seized "Arab lands." She has merely redeemed land stolen from her over the years. All of Palestine (both sides of the Jordan) are rightfully Jewish. Jews have lived there for thousands of years. The Arabs are interlopers.

I am sure you will not print this letter.

Aaron Levin

Storrs, Conn.

Give back peanuts!

Thank you for finally bringing it out in the open: the \$50,000 "gift" of peanuts [to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference] from one of this country's imperialist oligarchical corporations, which has found it profitable to trespass on African soil.

If (and I say that LOUDLY) the Southern Christian Leadership Conference doesn't know it, Gulf Oil is the prime contributor financially and morally to Portugal's continued effort to exert colonial rule over Black Africans. SCLC's "gift," a drop in the bucket when compared to the \$500-million profited by Gulf from its operations in Angola alone, is a disgrace to those organizations that put forth concerted efforts to inform the

iLa Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



U.S. people of what is really happening in Africa.

It is freedom from colonial rule that Africans want, and Gulf Oil supports colonialism. Dr. Abernathy, turn the tide, move forward, not backward—give back the peanuts!!!

Earl Smith

Willimantic, Conn.

Prisoners & Watergate

We are attempting to start a group called "Up" in this state institution. We have 10 members in this group now and more signing up each day.

We all understand that we are in prison because of this capitalist society. Take one good look at us prisoners and another good look at Watergate. In this allegedly free country, the capitalists make deals for crimes and go free. We, the poor, make deals and come to prison.

Prisoners

Ohio

Militant in prisons

Your international coverage is excellent, especially on the Chile coup and the Zionist aggression on the Arab peoples.

The domestic coverage is excellent also. Do you think it would be possible to have a special column or article each week for the prisoners? These brothers are among the most oppressed. I'm glad to find *The Militant* circulating in the prisons of the Amerikan empire.

B. D.

Philadelphia, Pa.

A gas

Right on to *The Militant*!

I live deep in the redwood forest in Northern California and it's a gas to read your revolutionary perspectives compared to the reactionary newspapers up here.

Keep up the good work.

J. F.

Whitethorn, Calif.

A compliment

I've received four issues of *The Militant* now and I thought you might like to know what I think of it. I think that, although it is full of socialist propaganda, it is an important newspaper to read to understand the radical viewpoint.

It makes me think about and question a lot of screwed-up things that the U.S. government and other reactionary forces in America are doing throughout the world. Thanks for providing me with a different point of view.

D. L.

Santa Cruz, Calif.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Coors beer boycott

Adolph Coors is one of Colorado's wealthiest capitalists and most influential political figures. He sits on the board of regents of the University of Colorado. A hard-bitten racist and reactionary, he has for years used his influence to oppose even the most minimal gains for Chicanos and other working people and students.

One of the reasons Adolph Coors is so wealthy is that he owns Coors Beer, the fastest-growing beer company in the West. You will see Coors Beer on tap in practically every bar in Aztlán. Coors has made millions from Chicanos.

But while Adolph Coors doesn't mind taking Chicanos' money, he seems to be reluctant to see any of that money go back to Chicanos. He doesn't like to hire Chicanos to work in his brewery.

Chicanos have responded by calling a boycott of Coors Beer. A fact sheet some of the boycotters issued points out the facts regarding Coors's racist hiring policies.

The Coors brewery is located near Denver, where Chicanos comprise some 13 percent of the population. In 1966, Coors employed 1,330 people, of which only 27 (2 percent) had Spanish surnames.

By 1973, Coors had grown to 6,000 employees. Yet, after years of protest by the Chicano commu-

nity, the Coors company in 1973 employs only 147 people with Spanish surnames (2.5 percent). At this rate, it will be 147 years before Coors hires Chicanos in proportion to their percentage of the population.

Very few of these Chicanos are to be found in any supervisory or professional positions. They are kept at the bottom through biased testing procedures.

Coors is tight with his money when it comes to Chicanos. However, when he thinks the Denver police department is needy, he doesn't hesitate to give generously. A few years ago, Coors donated money out of his own pocket to buy a helicopter for the Denver cops to help police antiwar and Chicano demonstrators.

While in Colorado recently, I learned that the Coors boycott has been strengthened by new forces. Seventeen construction unions working on the expanding Coors brewery are on strike for higher wages and better working conditions and have joined the boycott.

A leaflet the unions issued points out that the old skinflint pays 20 to 25 percent lower wages than the prevailing pay in Denver.

Help Chicanos and other working people in their fight against the Coors empire: Boycott Coors!

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Lessons from Canadian labor

Many union members are angry about the inability of the entrenched leadership to deliver wage raises in the face of government wage controls. This dissatisfaction, part of the growing ferment in the union movement, is occasionally reflected in conventions, where the voice of the membership has been muffled for many years.

No cries from the ranks were heard at the recent AFL-CIO convention in Bal Harbour, Fla. But the convention of the Ontario Federation of Labor (OFL), representing 750,000 Canadian workers, was a different story.

The labor movement in Canada is more advanced politically than the labor movement in the United States. It has organized a political party of labor, the New Democratic Party, which is independent of the ruling-class parties. Both the Canadian unions and the NDP are controlled, however, by a pro-capitalist bureaucracy more concerned with "respectably" collaborating with the industrialists and the capitalist government than with fighting for the interests of the workers.

Despite this misleadership, the existence of the NDP poses political questions more sharply in the union movement in Canada. We can expect that developments there will have an influence on political consciousness here.

The United Electrical Workers union (UE), strongly influenced by the pro-Moscow Communist Party, was recently readmitted to the Canadian Labor Congress after a 24-year absence. It is still outside the AFL-CIO in this country. The UE had delegates at the Ontario Federation of Labor convention. Some revolutionary socialists were also elected delegates.

A front-page article in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* on Nov. 15, headlined "Articulate leftists push OFL into greater show of militancy," pointed out that the reentry of the UE was "greeted with near-enthusiasm by some members of the union establishment, including OFL president David Archer." The 74 UE delegates were able to dominate the "left" at the 1,400-delegate convention.

The *Globe and Mail* approvingly noted that the UE "has provided reasoned, stable leadership to the left; a note of reason and seeming moderation;

men with long experience . . . in the responsible jobs of union leadership." In other words, the UE bureaucrats can be counted on not to rock the boat, and may provide cover for suppressing more militant voices from the union ranks.

The only clear division between the entrenched leadership and the left-wing forces concerned a resolution submitted by Local 1967 of the United Auto Workers. This resolution called on all local AFL-CIO unions affiliated to the OFL to "request that their union leaders in the United States withdraw from all U.S.A. government boards dealing with wages, prices and productivity."

The resolution was finally defeated, but not until it had been extensively debated, against the wishes of convention chairman Archer. The vote was carried on the grounds that the OFL should not meddle in the affairs of U.S. unions, not on the merits of the issue of union independence from government agencies.

George Harris, secretary-treasurer of the UE, later explained that his union was not primarily interested in whether the resolution was adopted but in having the issue of union complicity in government wage controls debated.

This same debate is going on inside the union movement in the U.S., even if it has not yet been carried into the tightly controlled union conventions. When it breaks over the heads of the AFL-CIO bureaucrats, it will probably be less polite than the exchange at the OFL convention.

The pent-up resentment of workers here is liable to carry them beyond a break with antiunion government agencies and lead to the formation of an independent labor party. In this they will follow the example of union men and women in Canada. But it is also likely that a labor party here at this late date will not limit its activity to maneuvering in the parliamentary arena as the NDP does.

A labor party should represent the political needs of the working class in daily struggles to correct the injustices of this society. It should strive for the establishment of a workers government to abolish capitalism and begin constructing an entirely new—socialist—society. That is what the Socialist Workers Party will be fighting for within it.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Memo: To Nixon, Ziegler—The Saigon regime launched a campaign to conserve fuel by removing the air-conditioners from press and military offices.

Internal security—All this Watergate foolishness is costing the taxpayers money. A marble White House bathtub was ripped out along with a glass enclosure etched with the presidential seal. In its place is a new tub with a \$1,500 whirlpool bath. It was suggested by President Nixon's doctor to provide relaxation from nervous tension.

Personal conservation plan—After being queried by a newspaper, the president of Mobil Oil decided to drop plans for installing an underground 4,000 gallon oil tank and a 1,000

gallon gasoline tank on his Long Island estate. A Mobil public relations man said, "He felt there would be some kind of misunderstanding."

Bad vibes?—In police circles, a joke was that if you really wanted to hang a bum rap on someone you booked him for "mopery"—indecent exposure before a blind woman. Now officials in Clarkstown, N. Y., have created an "obscurity" committee to screen movies, cabaret acts, and printed matter. It's headed by Harry Snyder, a hard-bitten right-winger, who is blind.

Wonder why—We recently watched the vice-president of Gulf Oil explain to the Watergate committee how he slipped an illegal hundred grand in cash to CREEP. Meanwhile, we re-

ceived a copy of a University of Michigan recruitment manual with a two-page ad by Gulf. The caption reads: "The trouble with being a big, successful oil company is that nobody believes a word you say."

Freedom of choice, USA—We don't know the outcome, but in the Nov. 6 mayoralty election in Trainer, Pa., the electorate enjoyed a choice between a Republican incumbent out on appeal after being convicted in a department store break-in and a Democratic contender who was chief of police until suspended for insubordination and violation of department rules.

Afterthought—We wonder if that police chief in Trainer was suspended because the mayor was busted in the burglary?



"Forward!"

Women In Revolt

A woman-hater sounds off

Those who think that openly reactionary ideas about women are relics of the past or confined to Archie Bunker-types are sadly mistaken.

Dotson Rader was actually given space in the *New York Times* to propagate one of the most vicious myths about women: that women are castrating, domineering matriarchs.

Rader is not just some nincompoop who knows no better. A former member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Rader has published two successful books about his student radical days—*I Ain't Marchin' Anymore* and *Gov't Inspected Meat*. He is currently a contributing editor to *Esquire* magazine and has a new book on the market, *Blood Dues*.

In the *Times* article Rader writes: "Violence is rooted in emasculation, emasculation too often accomplished, intentionally or not, through the offices of women." His theory is that violence is the result of the sexual repression of men by women. Violence, he claims, is a reaction to authority, "authority usually presented to males in boyhood in the person of the dominant woman, the matriarch and teacher." And, of course, "Women for

centuries have marched their sons off into hopeless wars."

Even Archie Bunker has not surpassed these statements in backwardness, nor has Norman Mailer expressed a deeper hatred of women. And neither Bunker nor Mailer claims to be a "democratic socialist" as Rader claims to be.

A few days after Rader's article appeared, the *Times* ran an entire page of "Letters to the Editor" in response to it. Most of them were written by women, and all of them strongly disagreed with Rader.

One woman wrote, "'Mothers march their sons off into hopeless wars' (while the male political establishment begs and prays on bended knee for peace but is powerless before the mighty blood-thirsty cabal of the nation's mothers?)"

Another sarcastically commented: "I am fully aware that women march their sons off to war. When my sons reached fighting age, I personally called the President and asked him to start something somewhere to get these young men out of my hair!"

Rader goes even further. He simply can't understand, he writes, "why we do not take note of the

Linda Jenness



fact that by any objective criteria it is not women but young males who as a group experience the greatest inability to cope with contemporary life. . . ."

Rader apparently didn't learn much in his days as an activist. By any "objective criteria" it is women who are the brunt of sexual repression, unemployment, unequal pay, miseducation, and the distortions of capitalist society.

In a recent interview in the *New York Post* Rader says that the reason he became disillusioned with the radical movement was because of "the lack of charity, of human feeling" from the American people. Poor thing. With ideas like that I can't imagine why the American people, especially American women, don't adore him.

I agree with the woman who answered Rader this way:

"We don't need whiners like Mr. Rader . . . making a mockery of tragedy."

She said, "We need serious people to think and then act seriously, and we need a revolution to free us from the chains of many kinds of exploitation—economic, social and psychological."

By Any Means Necessary

'Blacks in America's Wars'

The following guest column by Tony Thomas reviews *Blacks in America's Wars* by Robert W. Mullen, a Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N. Y. 10014. 96 pp. Paper \$1.45. Cloth \$5.

In all the wars the U. S. has waged since the revolutionary war for independence, some voices in the Black community have claimed that participation in the war—heroic service, deaths, casualties—would lead to some betterment of Black conditions.

With the exception of the Civil War, which did lead to freedom from slavery, such sentiments have been in vain.

The important role of Blacks in these wars is brought out in Robert Mullen's short book *Blacks in America's Wars*, which provides an introduction to this hidden chapter of Black and U. S. history.

Mullen points out that Blacks played a major role in the American revolution: 5,000 of the 300,000 Continental troops were Black. This was despite a ban on Black recruitment and enlistment ordered by George Washington when he gained command of the Continental Army in 1775. Washington, "a fourth-generation slaveowner," was afraid that the example of Blacks taking up arms and fighting, whether they were free or slave, would encourage slave revolts.

But the ban on recruiting Blacks was reversed after the British governor of Virginia promised Blacks freedom after the war if they joined the British troops. Faced with this British threat and the difficulty of gaining any revolutionary troops, the Army again admitted Blacks starting in December 1775, only a few months after Washington's ban.

Another hidden aspect of Blacks' relation to the war machine is the story of the 1899-1902 U. S. war against Filipino independence fighters, fought to secure the Philippines as a U. S. colony.

Mullen writes: "Within the Black population of the United States as a whole, there was considerable opposition to intervention in the Philippines. Most Black newspapers and leaders publicly supported the idea of Filipino independence and felt that the United States was wrong to begin to develop a colonial empire of nonwhite subjects. . . . Even such normally cautious Black figures as Booker T. Washington felt they had to speak out for Filipino independence."

War Department officials feared sending in Black troops and doubted that Blacks "if brought face to face with their colored Filipino cousins could be made to fire on them." Despite these qualms, the Army decided to send all its segregated Black regiments to the Philippines.

This, in turn, resulted in large-scale desertions by

the Black soldiers, "for the purpose of joining the insurgents," as a contemporary wrote. David Fagan, an Afro-American deserter, became one of the leaders of the Filipino independence fighters.

Another interesting part of Mullen's book is his description of Black opposition to the U. S. intervention in Vietnam and Black antiwar and nationalist organizing efforts in the Army.

He notes, "Blacks suffered nearly 17 percent of all deaths in Vietnam between 1961 and 1967 although the percentage of Black troops in Southeast Asia during those years was around 12 percent." In 1970, a year of intense U. S. fighting, Blacks were 22 percent of all U. S. casualties.

Mullen quotes the views on the war by Black leaders from Malcolm X to Martin Luther King, including early antiwar statements by SNCC and CORE. He also quotes the views and reminiscences of Black Vietnam vets.

Mullen concludes that following the Indochina war, "For the first time, the great majority of Blacks, inside and outside the military, were unwilling to defer their demands until the end of the war. They felt they did not have to prove their right to citizenship through military service, but rather that they should not be forced to fight and possibly die for a society unwilling to grant them full civil and human rights."



Baxter Smith

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

DECEMBER 14, 1973

Target is workers and the poor

Swedish journalist describes new forms of repression in Chile

[The Swedish journalist Bobi Sou-rander was one of the foreign journalists most roughly treated by the Chilean junta. He was arrested and held in the National Stadium for more than a week before being expelled from the country. Since returning to Sweden, he has been writing a series of articles on the repression he witnessed. The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in the October 28 issue of the Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

Almost every morning dead bodies turn up lying along the Avenida Departamental on the outskirts of Santiago. They appear near bus stops, where they can best frighten people. Their faces are smashed in with rifle butts so that they are unrecognizable. They wear the cheap, worn clothing of Chilean workers.

The political persecution in Chile is far from over. It has only changed its form, shifted so as not to be so visible to the world. And it has reached a new level among the poor and the ordinary people.

The junta isn't looking for officials in the Allende government any more. They are dead or deported. Now the Popular Front politicians are missing or in prison. So the political persecution has another target. It is the Chilean workers who are being persecuted.

The Departamental is a long industrial road through Santiago's factory belt, and it passes through campamento after campamento in the working-class slums.

The first dead bodies didn't show up along the road until one morning a few weeks after the military coup. They had been dumped there at night during the curfew period. They were picked up by a passing garbage truck.

Since then, the appearance of such bodies has been a continual occurrence. One morning there were five men lying there in overalls with safety glasses around their necks. Two days later there were two men with their feet tied together. They had obviously been dragged behind a car. I myself saw a man who had been placed in a sitting position on an embankment. He had been shot in the neck with the gun pointed upward so that his face was blown away.

Who killed them? Why? And where did they come from?

The first question can be answered with an ironic "don't know." Only the

military and the police know. Only they can move around at night when the curfew is on.

As for the second question, Raúl, a friend, can answer it.

He lives in a campamento along the Departamental, with his wife and ten children. In Allende's time, he was a member of the campamento governing board and head of the health committee. He has never made a secret of the fact that he has been a Socialist party member for decades.

In front of his house, he hung a picture of Salvador Allende with Fidel Castro. He thought it was funny. In the era of the spiffy Allende, it was the only picture he had seen of

When Raúl came back to the campamento, he found out that his job was gone. When Carmen and one of their girls was arrested a little later and held in an army barracks for two days, he gave up.

He fled from the campamento and thus lost both the hovel he lived in and the right to one of the new houses that are being built for families in the neighborhood.

Raúl Gómez, a man who considered himself rich when he was getting about \$100 a month in wages, no longer has any hope. He has no job, no home, no future, not even guarantees of his life.

He is a typical case.



'A pro-Allende worker is a marked man, like a Jew in Nazi Germany.'

Fidel wearing a tie.

The police arrested Raúl on a Saturday night. They came into his campamento in a truck and dragged him out of bed. He staggered out carrying his trousers and his shoes and was knocked down and beaten in the street while his children screamed.

Raúl was held in the police station for four days. He was tortured for an afternoon, and given the electric shock treatment. When I talked with him, he still had the burn marks on his lips and heels. The police wanted to know where he had hidden Carlos Altamirano, one of those with a half-million escudos price on his head.

"I don't know what you want from me," Raúl answered. "I have only seen Altamirano in newspaper pictures."

Tens of thousands like him, laborers, slum dwellers, and wage workers in the nationalized factories go in fear of their lives. They know that sooner or later, depending on how long the repression lasts, they are going to lose their jobs and their homes.

It is against them that the repression and the pogroms are aimed. A worker in Chile who openly supported Allende and socialism in the past three months knows what can happen to him.

He is a marked man, like a Jew in Nazi Germany.

In Escotilla Tres, Entrance Ramp No. 3 in the National Stadium, the military junta demonstrated this on a massive scale.

This ramp was the "cell" where all the newcomers landed. A month and

two days after the coup, I met eleven workers from Chena in the small suburb of San Bernardo.

They were almost bubbling over and happy to have come to the National Stadium. They thought their lives were saved.

"We don't know how many workers the military shot in Chena. We only heard shooting and found in the roll call that people had disappeared."

"You didn't see anyone shot, then?" I asked.

"See? We had blindfolds on all the time." Rómulo, a truck driver, said that he sat in Chena sixteen days blindfolded!

A month after the coup, almost all of the people coming into Escotilla Tres were workers and poor. They were the new victims of the new methods of repression. And the roundups were so indiscriminate that the results seemed almost ridiculous.

For example, there was the line of newcomers that appeared suddenly in one morning inspection, dominated by five boys in shiny green uniforms with the name of the Savory glass factory on the back.

They had been taken off the job four days before and softened up at a military post.

So, Escotilla Tres was a "safe harbor." The only thing that could happen to you after you got there was two or three interrogations, which might be rough.

Then came the decision—trial before a military tribunal or release.

For a Chilean worker in the National Stadium there is no difference between trial or release. He can never expect anything more than "conditional freedom." That means that every night he must be in his house and if anyone comes looking for him he has to turn himself in immediately to the authorities.

And staying "home" in a campamento, where informers keep a constant eye on people who have been in the National Stadium, can mean ending up face down along the Avenida Departamental.

The military "search" these campamentos in raids for weapons and political leaders. They are appointing informers as the new leaders and renaming the settlements. "New Havana" is now called "New Dawn," and "Ho Chi Minh" is called "Happy Valley." The settlement of "Three Bullets" got the name "Virgin María."

And if you get through the military's "house-by-house searches," there are still the night raids, when the police come. The police know their districts well. They do not come looking for weapons. They know that there aren't any. They go directly after the people they want.

But even if everything goes all right at "home," there is still the problem of making a living. Workers are sent out of the National Stadium with the notation "Marxist" on their work permits. They have no chance of finding work in today's Chile.

Famine death toll in Ethiopia may reach 100,000

According to a United Nations report, between 50,000 and 100,000 people have died during the first ten months of 1973 from a famine afflicting Wallo Province in Ethiopia. In Chad, Upper Volta, the Sudan, Niger, Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal food shortages have been taking their toll for four years.

Besides the staggering toll in human lives that has already been taken, losses of crops and the decimation of the livestock in Wallo Province promises to push the Ethiopian casualty figures even higher. About five million Ethiopians live in the famine-stricken region and many of them are trying to flee to areas where relief supplies are more available. The lack of organization of the government relief efforts and the poor quality of the roads make distribution of the supplies even more difficult in Wallo.

Until the end of October, the regime in Addis Ababa gave no indications that famine conditions were so widespread. Now that the extent of the famine has become known, it has begun "investigations" to determine why the famine was ignored for so long. The regime has suspended the acting governor general of the province, Sololeman Abraham, charging that he was responsible for the cover-up.

But some sources put the blame even higher. According to the November 9 *Le Monde*, Mr. Burgess, a spokesman for the Christian Famine Relief Committee, charged that the minister of tourism helped play down the extent of the famine so as not to "discourage" tourists. He also said that the province governor—who happens to be Emperor Haile Selassie's son—refused to accept relief funds contributed by students in Addis Ababa.

The regimes in the other famine-stricken African countries have been equally slow to act. In May, René Dumont, a French agronomist who had just completed a tour of the region, blamed the governments of Chad, Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Mauritania, and Senegal for not acting more quickly. He said they knew in September 1972 that harvests would be insufficient but did not ask for



African regimes are more interested in tourist trade and military assistance than in averting famine.

aid until February 1973, when food stocks were already completely exhausted. All this despite the experience of four previous years of famine.

Peter Dunn, writing in the November 3 *New Zealand Herald*, described the hypocrisy of Selassie's "national pride": "Today, as the skeletons totter in their thousands toward the pitifully few relief centres, Addis Ababa, the capital,

is full of new prestige buildings; and the country still maintains the biggest standing army in Africa."

The kind of "aid" that Selassie is interested in receiving is hardly of the variety that will help famine victims: From 1953 to 1970, the Addis Ababa regime received more than \$160 million in military assistance from the Pentagon, which is about

two-thirds of Washington's total military allocation to Africa.

The determination of the Ethiopian regime to keep the lid on any news of the famine was highlighted in May when seventeen students were killed in Dessye, capital of Wallo Province, for protesting government inaction against the famine. An investigation is also being launched to "place the blame" for the killing of the students. "Official sources in Addis Ababa," reported the November 18 *New York Times*, "said that the students were shot by the police in a demonstration following the refusal of the acting governor general, Sololeman Abraham, to meet with them to discuss the famine. According to the official sources, at least six were killed immediately, others were put to death later, and an unknown number were wounded."

Besides attempting to cover up the famine, the regime has also blamed it on purely "natural causes," denouncing any attempts to "exploit" the situation by hinting that the government bears heavy responsibility for the situation.

But the real underlying causes have little to do with "nature."

Ethiopia's land is worked primarily under a sharecropping system, where the tenant farmers—about 150,000 in Wallo Province alone—pay exorbitant rents to the absentee landlords.

Jean de la Guérivière in the November 9 *Le Monde* drew a direct link between this landholding system and the famine: "Since they must pay exorbitant rents to the landlords (in Wallo Province, 50-75 percent of the harvest), the peasants are hardly encouraged to raise their productivity. What's the use of starting an irrigation project on some property when the landlord won't sign a lease and can evict the peasant at will?"

The regime's unwillingness to carry out agrarian reforms that would minimize the chances of recurrent famine and its reluctance to publicize the present one may just be related to the fact that the majority of the members in the Ethiopian parliament are landowners.

Congress debates aid to Portuguese African wars

By Tony Thomas

Recent moves surrounding debate on the foreign aid bill in Congress have disclosed new facts about the determination of U.S. capitalism to back Portugal in its war against independence fighters in Africa.

Senator John Tunney (D-Calif.) introduced an amendment to the foreign aid bill that would have required the president to suspend any U.S. economic or military assistance used in direct support of Portugal's wars in Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Mozambique.

An executive order issued twelve years ago supposedly forbids use of U.S. military equipment in the colonial war, just as NATO agreements supposedly forbid using NATO equipment in Portugal's African wars. This has not prevented the U.S. government from giving massive military and economic aid to Portugal, which is then used in the colonial war. Nor has it prevented Portugal from getting

similar mileage out of its NATO supplies.

Tunney's amendment would have elevated this directive into law, thus making it more difficult for Washington and Lisbon to pull their behind-the-scenes deal. So, the Nixon administration "asked Congress to kill" the amendment, reported the November 14 *Washington Post*. As a result of this pressure, the amendment was watered down in a Senate-House conference.

Instead of referring to Portugal specifically, the new version reported out from conference November 14 "drops mention of Portugal and alludes instead generally to European countries with African territories," reports the November 21 *Christian Science Monitor*.

One of the bargaining points Lisbon and its supporters used is the key role played by U.S. bases in the Portuguese Azores during the U.S. military airlift to Israel and in Nixon's preparations for intervention in the Arab East. With the exception of the

Netherlands—which has big oil holdings in the Mideast—Portugal was the only European country to allow the U.S. to use its bases for that purpose. As a result, the Arab states are now discussing a permanent oil embargo of Portugal, as well as South Africa and Rhodesia, as an act of solidarity with African freedom-fighters.

During the congressional debate on the Tunney amendment, a number of facts and figures on U.S. aid to Portugal have slipped out. A study made by Representative Charles Diggs (D-Mich.) shows that U.S. aid to Portugal has been going up rapidly in recent years. From 1946 to 1972, the U.S. gave \$571.8-million in aid, of which \$344-million was outright military aid. The 1972 aid figure of \$37.9-million was double the 1971 figure and eight times that of 1970.

One item in the U.S. "payment" is a \$1-million fund for "educational reform." This was undefined but was to come from the Pentagon—a well-known "educational center."

The *Monitor* also reported that \$30-million in "food-for-peace commodities" ended up feeding "cattle who are reported to be on a ranch in Africa."

In related news, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State David Newsom told a meeting of the African Studies Association that the United States did not consider the recently proclaimed Republic of Guinea-Bissau to have the "attributes of a state" and therefore the U.S. would not recognize it. Newsom also indicated that Washington would probably veto in the Security Council any demand for Guinea-Bissau's admission to the United Nations.

Guinea-Bissau declared its independence from Portugal in September. The African freedom-fighters have elected a government, established schools and other institutions, and have liberated two-thirds of the territory of the country from Portugal. Newsom's concern about the "attributes" of a state flows from his friendship to Portugal and his opposition to self-determination in Africa.

Marcos regime fails to crush resistance

By Antero Nanhaya

Manila

After somewhat more than a year of despotic military rule, Ferdinand Marcos has launched an intensive propaganda campaign depicting himself as the nation's "revolutionary hero," and comparing himself with Lenin, Mao Tsetung, Sukarno, and Castro. Choruses of adulation from his coterie of sycophants are aired on all radio and television stations. September 21, the anniversary of the signing of the martial law decree, was designated "Thanksgiving Day" and made an official holiday.

Songs pirated from the radical movement, with new lyrics praising the regime, are broadcast incessantly on the radio, and the name of a new newspaper, *Ang Bayani* (The Hero) mimics the title of the organ of the New (Maoist) Communist party of the Philippines, *Ang Bayan* (The Nation).

These and other crude attempts to exploit the popularity of the resistance movement are implicit admissions of its appeal and latent strength.

Behind the facade of tourist buses with military escorts, thousands of political prisoners languish without charges or trials. The only trial held was that of progressive newscaster Roger Arienda, who was sentenced to twelve years at hard labor.

Raids and arrests continue in greater Manila. Troops cordon off working-class sections after the midnight curfew, searching homes and detaining all males for identification and fingerprinting. A national ID card system reminiscent of such reactionary strongholds as the Union of South Africa and Taiwan is being prepared under the supervision of the Public Safety Division of the U.S. Agency for International Development and its International Police Academy in Washington. Drunken, swaggering police and soldiers commit cruel abuses against the terrorized populace.

Rice, the food staple of the population, is scarcer than at any time in Philippine history. Black marketeers sell the grain at 8 pesos (US\$1.19) per ganta (2 liters), the price having tripled since only last April. In Manila when rice is available at all, people must wait long hours on line to purchase a day's supply at inflated prices. This despite the fact that the nation boasts the most advanced technology in tropical rice production and hosts the heralded International Rice Research Institute, funded by Rockefeller



Moslem rebels

voritism decides which soldiers are sent into the rebel areas. In combat regions, the troops frequently get drunk and fire their guns indiscriminately, hoping to be disciplined, preferring a "month in the stockade to a day in the mountains."

Captured Muslim towns and villages are completely razed in a policy of "collective punishment." Marcos has declared an amnesty for rebels who surrender, but the few who give up are usually killed in vengeance by the troops. In Lebak, Cotabato, 1,000 civilians caught in a cross fire sought protection from the army, and the young men, numbering about 100, were led away and shot. Two weeks of heavy bombing failed to dislodge rebel positions in Lebak, Parang, Carmen, and Sultan Kudarat, all in Cotabato. On Basilan Island, the civilian population, seeking refuge in the mountains and coastal mangrove swamps, is being decimated by air bombardment. Fighting continues around the Goodrich rubber plantation, also in Basilan.

and Ford.

Fighting in Mindanao and adjacent islands continues unabated. The Muslim revolutionaries are tactically superior to the government troops and Christian mercenaries and are well prepared for a protracted guerrilla struggle. In Cotabato Province, the rebels have killed more than 800 government troops in the last twelve months.

Morale in the army is low as fa-

If conditions deteriorate further, the army may take over from Marcos in a palace coup. Such a move might well be led by General Fidel Ramos, commander of the Philippine Constabulary. Ramos, a second cousin of Marcos, enjoys considerable prestige with junior officers and would be readily acceptable to U.S. imperialism, which is often embarrassed by the blunders, inefficiency, and extravagance of the Marcos regime.

Kurdish nationalists face shah's firing squad

[The following news item was released by the Organization of Kurdish Intellectuals of Iran.]

On Thursday, November 1, 1973, two more Kurdish patriots were shot dead by the shah's firing squads in Sanandaj, the center of the Kurdistan province in western Iran.

This news appeared in the semiofficial papers *Ettelat* and *Kayhan*. The complete text of the report read:

"Two persons accused of setting up a network and having links with foreign elements were executed at dawn today.

"The authorities had received information that a civilian, Aziz Mostafa Zadeh, had set up a network in Baneh Town together with some others, including Mohamad Sadiq, and had links with foreign elements, giving away news and information concerning the country.

"The security forces put these people under surveillance and when Mulla Qadir Werdi, another accomplice, returned from a secret trip abroad, accompanied by Mohamad Sadiq, they clashed with the security authorities. They were both wounded and captured, Mulla Qadir Werdi later dying in Baneh Hospital. At the time they both had in their possession a Colt pistol and ammunition, which were seized

by the security forces.

"During the interrogation process, it was learned that Mulla Qadir Werdi had sent one of his confidants (Mohamad, son of Sadiq) to Baneh as a contact and had hidden him in the home of Aziz Mostafa Zadeh, and there they together worked to gather information in order to pass it on to foreign agents. Therefore, Aziz Mostafa Zadeh and his collaborators were put under arrest.

"The dossier, after being sent through the normal procedure, was then sent up to the Military Court of Appeals and according to the verdict of the appeals court, Aziz Mostafa Zadeh and Mohamad, the son of Sadiq, were condemned to death, and each of their collaborators was sentenced to imprisonment. The court's sentences were carried out early this morning."

It should be stated here that according to this semiofficial news, it is impossible to ascertain any single idea about their motive in setting up such a network, and there is no information about what took place behind the closed doors of the court.

The shah's regime has long experience in diverting the realities away from the public and doesn't hesitate to put down any single cry for freedom. But despite this rigorous attempt, with the aid of a well-oiled propaganda apparatus, the realities will not remain hidden forever.

This new wave of bloodshed, which has taken place in total secrecy, cannot forever deceive the public, and it will be followed by great concern from the freedom-loving people elsewhere, and should rouse the voices of wrath from freedom-loving people and progressives in their protest against the brutality and crimes carried out by the archenemy of all the Iranian peoples.

The reality of this news is that these

two martyrs were members of the Kurdistan Democratic party of Iran, and Mulla Qadir Werdi, whose name has been mentioned in connection with this incident, was a member of the central committee of that party. He was killed on Thursday, March 22, near Baneh Town. Following that incident several other militants were injured and many Kurdish patriots were arrested.

The two new martyrs were among those detainees. The Iranian regime is intent on carrying out its slaughter in silence and as a result has announced the murder of the patriots without mentioning their political motives.

The Kurdistan Democratic party of

Iran has a long history of struggle against the shah's regime and will continue the struggle together with all combatants of Iran. The Iranian peoples, despite their various nationalities, are facing the same enemy, and will, hand in hand, crush the monarchist-fascist regime of Iran.

Aziz Mostafa Zadeh and Mohamad Sadiq are among the hundreds of Iranian patriots executed in recent years by the shah and his fascist regime. It is the clear duty of all freedom-loving people to urge the Iranian regime to publish the names and fate of arrested Kurdish patriots, to make public the names and sentences passed on all detainees.

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The next Bangladesh?

Pakistan army out to crush Baluchi freedom fighters

By Ernest Harsch

"All the conditions are present to transform Baluchistan into a new Bangladesh," wrote Jean-Pierre Viennot in the November issue of the monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique*. The October 10 Japanese English-language daily *Asahi Evening News* quoted an official of the National Awami party, which has a strong base in Baluchistan, as saying that the "makings of a new Bangladesh are there. There are freedom-fighters in the hills—several thousand of them. The army has been sent against them."

The analogy with Bangladesh has not been lost even on Pakistani governmental officials, as the clashes between government troops and Baluchi nationalists have continued to mount. The governor of the province of Baluchistan has declared that between 6,000 and 20,000 guerrillas are active there and in March, Prime Minister



Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto with Nixon. Bhutto also has aid of Peking in war against rebels.

Zulfikar Ali Bhutto sent one third of the Pakistani army—80,000 men—to Baluchistan to put down the resistance.

Baluchistan, a largely arid and mountainous region, is the largest and most sparsely populated province in Pakistan. More than one million Baluchis live in the Pakistani province of Baluchistan and in parts of the province of Sind, while 750,000 more live across the border in Iran. In addition, the Pathans, who comprise the second largest nationality in Baluchistan, also spill over into Pakistan's North West Frontier Province (NWFP), where they are the majority, and into large parts of Afghanistan. Both the Baluchis and and Pathans, many of whom still follow tribal traditions and live in almost inaccessible areas, have a long history of opposition to the various central governments that have administered the region.

The general elections of December 1970 gave the National Awami party (NAP) majorities in the provincial assemblies of Baluchistan and the NWFP. The NAP, which favored greater autonomy for Baluchis, Pathans, and Bengalis, became the principal bourgeois opposition to Bhutto's Pakistan People's Party (PPP) after Bhutto took over from Yahya in the wake of Bangladesh independence.

The NAP's calls for autonomy for Baluchistan and the NWFP, and the development of nationalist activity raised fears in the capital, Islamabad,

that the Bangladesh experience might be duplicated in the remaining section of the Islamic state. Early in 1973, Bhutto decided to take actions against the NAP and to strengthen the federal government.

In February, Abdul Qayyum Khan, Pakistani minister of the interior, organized a rebellion against the NAP regime in Lasbela, a district in the southern part of Baluchistan. Attaullah Mengal, who was then prime minister of Baluchistan, quickly organized a militia and crushed the central-government-sponsored uprising. A few days later, a cache of arms was "uncovered" at the Iraqi Embassy in Islamabad. Bhutto charged that the weapons had been destined for the NAP forces in Baluchistan. He used this as a pretext for removing the NAP governors of Baluchistan and the NWFP and replacing them with two pro-Bhutto men.

A state of emergency was declared and thousands of suspected NAP members and sympathizers were arrested. The October issue of *People's Front*, the newspaper of the Democratic party of Baluchistan (Iranian), reported that more than 3,000 NAP members as well as 5,000 other Baluchis had been arrested. In addition, many have fled across the border into Afghanistan to escape the terror.

The Pakistani army, while not yet carrying out large-scale massacres as it did in Bangladesh, has razed entire villages, poisoned drinking wells, killed sheep and other livestock, raped women, tortured prisoners, and killed suspected leaders of the resistance.

The NAP, most of whose leaders are tribal chiefs or landowners, never intended to break away from the federal government or to mobilize the masses of Baluchis and Pathans against it. The October 10 *Asahi Evening News* quoted one NAP leader as saying: "We were never secessionists. But Bhutto is driving us into this position."

But so far Bhutto has shown no signs of willingness to compromise, and the conflict continues to escalate week by week, threatening to go beyond the control of either Bhutto or the NAP.

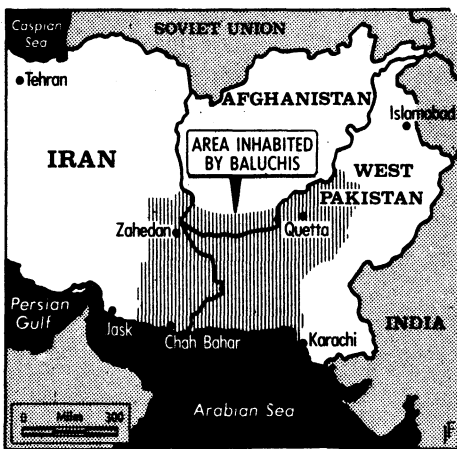
Should the resistance to Bhutto's attacks spark a real mass uprising, the shah of Iran would be prepared to intervene militarily to help crush it. Tehran and Islamabad are both members of the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO), and the shah has been building up his military strength in the region for the past few years.

In his *Le Monde Diplomatique* article Jean-Pierre Viennot described the shah's interest in Baluchistan: "The existence of an autonomous, democratic regime in Pakistani Baluchistan would inevitably have repercussions in Iranian Baluchistan. . . . Furthermore, Baluchistan occupies a strategic position along the Gulf of Oman that is regarded as a 'security zone' by the Iranian government, which claims the right to intervene with arms against any revolutionary movement, as it has already done in the Sultanate of Oman."

The shah himself said, according to Viennot: "If Pakistan breaks up, a new Vietnam could develop. We must act so as to keep Pakistan from com-

ing to pieces. That would be a terrible catastrophe, a Vietnam-type situation of newer and greater dimensions. I am frightened at the mere thought. If that should occur despite everything, the least that we could do, in our own national interests, would be to take protective measures in Baluchistan."

Such "protective measures" are already under way. Two giant military



bases are under construction at Chah Bahar and Jask in Iranian Baluchistan. The \$600-million military base at Chah Bahar will be the largest of its kind in the Indian Ocean.

The May *People's Front* reported that Tehran had sent five divisions—80,000 men—into Iranian Baluchistan: "Sparsely populated Baluchistan today gives the look of a vast army camp. Most of these troops are robbing and looting foodstores and sheep or goats from poor Baluch herdsmen. Their behaviour with Baluch inhabitants is such as if they were an enemy force." The June 7 Karachi *Leader* also reported that three military encampments had been built at Kharan, Turbat, and Khuzdar in Pakistani Baluchistan with the aid of Iranian troops.

Peking, which backed Yahya Khan against Bangladesh in 1971, also is supporting Bhutto and the shah against any possible secessionist developments in Baluchistan. *Hsinhua* reported on June 19 that Chinese Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei said on a visit to Tehran: "His Imperial Majesty the Shahanshah once said that the situation both east and west of Iran constitutes a very strong warning to Iran and that the nation has to strengthen its defences in view of the prevailing situation in the region. It is necessary and understandable for Iran to take measures to strengthen her defences for safeguarding her security, independence and sovereignty."

Whatever the political and military efforts on the part of Islamabad, Tehran, and Peking to stabilize the region, the situation is already reaching beyond the limited goals of the NAP leadership. In 1972, when the NAP ruled both Baluchistan and the NWFP, the Kissan-Mazdoor party (KMP—Peasant-Worker party) organized peasant uprisings and land occupations.

Much of the land tilled by the peasants is tribal property, but the *sardars* (tribal chiefs) have been trying to get title to the land. The *sardars* also collect a traditional *shishak*, or feudal tax, from the peasants working the tribal land.

In Kalat, in southern Baluchistan, the Kissan-Mazdoor party organized the peasants and agricultural workers to resist the expropriations of tribal land and to stop payment of the *shishak*.

Besides the KMP a number of Baluchi nationalist groups to the left of the NAP have also emerged. Allied with the Democratic party of Baluchistan (Iranian) are the People's Democratic party of Baluchistan and the People's Democratic party of Sind, both of which describe themselves as Marxist-Leninist. Though they seem to agree with Mao's concept of a "people's army" based in the countryside to carry on the struggle, they openly reject the Maoist label because of Peking's positions on Bangladesh and Baluchistan.

The NAP itself has split, the dissidents forming the NAP-Revolutionary Group, which criticized the NAP's sardar leadership. Similarly, the NAP student wing, the Baluchi Students Organization (BSO), suffered the break-away of the BSO-Awami Group, which charges that the NAP has "renounced its socialist and revolutionary ideas and transformed itself into a social-democratic party representing the interests of the tribal chiefs and the big landholders."

Should a compromise between Bhutto and the NAP be worked out, there are sections of the Baluchi nationalist movement that have indicated in advance their opposition to any deals with Bhutto that disregard the rights of the Baluchis and Pathans to self-determination.

Bhutto, however, remains the main obstacle to any compromise. His intransigence, for the moment, may very well drive the NAP leaders further than they originally intended to go, just as the events in Bangladesh led to its secession even though Mujibur Rahman had sought only autonomy



SHAH: 'Frightened at mere thought' of rebellion in Pakistan.

for East Pakistan.

Furthermore, the contradictions that have emerged in Bangladesh between the relatively weak ruling class and the masses of peasants and workers are already quite evident within the Baluchi nationalist movement. The development of a struggle for independence could thus boil over into a struggle against the Baluchi *sardars* and landowners themselves.

New hospital union holds convention in NY

By KARIN GREEN

NEW YORK—A rally of 1,200 union delegates and invited guests opened the founding convention of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees, held here Nov. 28-Dec. 1.

The new union's goal is to organize health care on an industrial basis, that is, to include in membership *all* hospital workers—service, clerical, technical, and professional. The latter refers specifically to registered nurses, who have not had union representation before.

The potential membership is three million workers whose present average weekly wage is \$105, according to Leon Davis, head of the new union. The first-year goal is to organize 20,000 new members, bringing the total union membership to nearly 100,000.

While the convention was still in session, a sit-down protest by workers at George Washington University Hospital in Washington, D.C., demanding union recognition and representation, showed the kind of militant actions that this new union can inspire.

The high percentage of Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and women working in this industry was evident at the New York rally. Blacks and Puerto Ricans totaled about 75 percent of the union delegates who attended. Women were a majority. Half were under 30.

The new union is an outgrowth of Drug and Hospital Union Local 1199 in New York and the National Union of Hospital and Nursing Home Employees, a division of the Retail, Wholesale & Department Store Union, AFL-CIO. The new union retains RWDSU affiliation, with autonomy in the health care industry.

The speakers at the opening rally provided an indication of the perspec-

tives held by the union leadership.

Coretta Scott King, who will serve as honorary chairwoman of the union, recalled the close ties between Local 1199 and the civil rights movement.

United Farm Workers President César Chávez, who spoke at the end of the rally, received the warmest response of all the speakers. He compared the struggles of the farm workers and hospital workers, saying that both are among the lowest-paid workers; both are mostly Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano; and both are fighting for dignity and self-respect and for their own unions.

Leon Davis, longtime president of Local 1199, spoke about the problems of the hospital workers in the aftermath of the recent New York strike. Local 1199 had closed 48 hospitals and nursing homes for a week in an attempt to force Nixon's Cost of Living Council to approve a \$12 weekly wage increase previously awarded by a New York state arbitration panel.

The strike failed to win the overdue raise, but it got a partial settlement of \$9. Davis praised the solidarity of union members during the strike and said it promised greater gains in the future.

Davis directed his sharpest attacks against government corruption and the heavy fines imposed on the union. "When our union takes strike action to win a living wage, the government of Nixon and Agnew levies fines of three-quarters of a million dollars. Yet Nixon and Agnew, who have robbed millions from the people, get off without punishment," he said.

The attacks on the Watergate gang in Washington were cheered, but there was a mixed response to the explanation of the union's failure to win a better settlement. Many of the delegates



Hospital workers' sit-in in Washington, D.C. Such actions show potential for new union.

present were still bitter over the outcome.

Harry Van Arsdale, president of the New York City Labor Council, spoke briefly on the policy of the council to "help our neighbors," referring to the struggle of the United Farm Workers.

Arsdale's remarks received polite attention but stirred little enthusiasm. Everyone was aware that national and local AFL-CIO leaders had remained silent during the New York hospital strike. Van Arsdale's presence was intended to show that the "respectable and responsible" AFL-CIO bureaucracy is still behind the hospital union.

Max Steinberg, assistant to RWDSU president Max Greenberg, tried to explain why the AFL-CIO hierarchy continues to lend its authority to the antiunion Cost of Living Council by serving on its agencies. Greenberg, as president of the RWDSU, still sits on the health industry stabilization panel—even after this panel approved a hefty 9 percent increase in hospital prices and knocked down the meager wage increase of hospital workers.

Greenberg's stand-in, Steinberg, offered the lame excuse that if union officials were not serving on wage con-

Continued on page 22

Auto workers are facing massive layoffs

By DERRICK MORRISON

Slumping sales and the "energy crisis" are being used as pretexts by the Big Three auto makers for laying off nearly 200,000 workers in December and January.

General Motors, the largest of the Big Three, announced Nov. 23 that it would halt production at 16 of its 24 assembly plants in North America Dec. 17, the week before Christmas. This would lay off 105,000 GM assembly workers in the U.S. and Canada. Traditionally the auto plants close Christmas week and reopen Jan. 2.

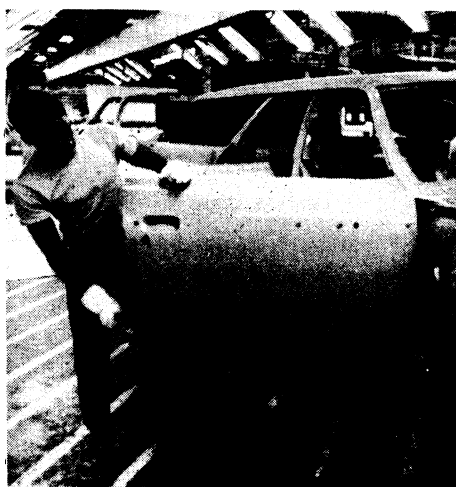
Since these plants produce the full-size and intermediate models, which are no longer selling well because they burn more gasoline than the smaller models, GM would thereby reduce its inventory.

The Chrysler Corporation then announced a post-holiday shutdown of seven of its 10 North American assembly plants, a move affecting 44,400 workers. At six of the plants the shutdown will last three days. At the seventh it will be extended to two weeks.

The Ford Motor Company joined in Nov. 30. But Ford is not laying off; it is cutting from its payrolls—firing—2,546 workers at 13 different plants.

These layoffs at GM and Chrysler assembly plants will lead to layoffs in parts and stamping plants. (GM announced Dec. 3 that total GM layoffs would reach 137,000 in December.)

Workers who have been in GM plants a year or more will get 95 percent of their wages during the lay-off—if it doesn't last too long. But



Nearly 200,000 auto workers will be laid off in December and January.

for those who haven't—and they will be among the first to be idled—there will be no Supplementary Unemployment Benefits.

The layoffs follow record profits in the Big Three during the past two years. With the ink hardly dry on contracts recently negotiated with the Big Three by the United Auto Workers union, Irving Bluestone, UAW vice-president and director of the union's GM department, had asked GM to postpone the layoffs. "Impractical," was the retort of George Morris, GM vice-president.

The UAW officials had lavished much praise on the contracts negotiated with the Big Three. The big issues were forced overtime and wages. On the first issue, however UAW officials backed down from a struggle for real voluntary overtime, allowing Chrysler to implement a nine-hour day, and Ford, a 10-hour day. At GM—where the contract is now being

voted on by the 415,000 workers in its plants—workers could "choose" between a 10-hour day and a nine-hour day with more compulsory Saturday overtime.

The wage increase in all three contracts comes to a paltry 3 percent, or less than \$2 a day.

While the UAW officials got the Chrysler workers to ratify, more than a third of the 170,000 Ford workers who voted—including the overwhelming majority of the skilled trades workers—voted against the agreement. Since the UAW constitution requires a majority of both the production and skilled trades workers for ratification, the Ford agreement was thus rejected, although UAW officials say this is not so.

The provision generating much of the opposition in Ford skilled trades was one allowing the company to replace skilled workers who refused so-called voluntary overtime with production workers or skilled labor obtained through outside contractors. The UAW officials have renegotiated this provision with Ford and are reportedly undecided whether to call another vote among the skilled trades or have a vote by a union body on the new provision.

In any event, the UAW officials have no intention of resubmitting the whole agreement for another vote by the workers.

Because of the unprecedented rejection at Ford, the UAW moved cautiously at GM, giving less publicity to the agreement. There is little doubt that it will be accepted.

However, the layoffs point up the problems that the Big Three contracts didn't resolve for the workers. There

is mounting talk of a recession next year, and spokesmen for the Nixon administration predict that unemployment may climb to 6 percent. Moreover, prices continue to climb. For the six months ending in October the Consumer Price Index rose by government calculations at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 9.2 percent.

Although the UAW is on record for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay—an answer to the auto companies' layoffs now and in the future—this demand was probably the furthest thing from the minds of the union officialdom.

The government's 'anti-inflation' program

'You might try something I've tried recently: eat a little less'—John McLane, deputy director, Cost of Living Council

And the socialist alternative:

INFLATION: WHAT CAUSES IT, HOW TO FIGHT IT by Linda Jenness, Dick Roberts, 24 pp., \$.25

ISSUES FACING THE LABOR MOVEMENT IN THE 1970s edited by Paul Davidson, 32 pp., \$.60

THE WAGE-PRICE FREEZE SWINDLE by Les Evans, Linda Jenness, 24 pp., \$.35.

Order from: Pathfinder Press, Inc. 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014

'The Case of the Legless Veteran'

How socialists fought

In the summer of 1948, James Kutcher, a veteran who had lost both his legs fighting in World War II, was fired from his job as a clerk in a Veterans Administration hospital. The sole reason was his membership in the Socialist Workers Party, which had recently been placed on the U.S. attorney general's list of "subversive" organizations.

Kutcher was like thousands of others who fell victim to the anticommunist purges by the government "loyalty board" during the late 1940s and 1950s. Unlike most of them, he decided to fight back.

The Case of the Legless Veteran is Kutcher's story of his eight-year fight—in the courts and before public opinion—to regain his job. His case became a rallying point for those who sought to defend civil liberties during the depths of McCarthyism. A defense committee was assembled, literature was printed, speaking tours were organized, and before the end, support for his rights was won from hundreds of organizations and individuals.

The government responded with further attacks—including cutting off Kutcher's disability pension—but it was finally defeated. He won back his pension, his job, and his back pay.

Kutcher's book, first published in a small British edition in 1953, holds both valuable political lessons and great human interest. Kutcher, who retired last year, has written two additional chapters for this new edition, describing the end of the case and drawing some conclusions.

Reprinted below are major excerpts from the final chapter, "Summing Up," in which Kutcher answers a number of questions, especially for those who did not live through the witch-hunt period. His comments on the meaning of his fight and the prospects for defense of civil liberties should be of interest to Militant readers.

The Case of the Legless Veteran is a Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. 256 pp. Holiday offer until Jan. 1: paper \$2.35; cloth \$7.15.

To help clarify certain matters for readers who did not live through the postwar witch-hunt period or who remember it only faintly, I asked half a dozen young people, some of whom were not born when my case began, to read the first edition of this book and then pose questions they would like answered or discussed. In some cases I have synthesized their questions for convenience.

What do you think was accomplished by all the efforts made in your behalf? Did they really make any difference in what the ruling class decided to do about McCarthyism, the subversive list, etc.? Wouldn't the same general changes have taken place if you hadn't fought the case?

In an immediate sense I can point to the recovery of my job as an achievement of our work. It obviously never would have happened without our defense activities. It was not a big thing, it did not shake the world, but several victims of the witch-hunt have told me that my fight encouraged them to resist. That is a factor that can't be measured or weighed exactly, but anything that induced the victims to resist or keep on resisting, and thereby created the possibility of educating and mobilizing broader sentiment and action against the witch-hunt, was a decidedly positive factor.

Our victory, partial though it was, also heartened and gave ammunition to those who had not been directly victimized themselves but wanted to stop the repression. It tended to undermine the morale and self-confidence of at least some of the witch-hunters and their followers or dupes. And it had a healthy impact on the great mass of the people who stood in the middle and had not actively committed themselves to either side, whose support both sides were trying to win.

Another factor that must not be overlooked in drawing up any balance sheet relates to the overall aim of the witch-hunt, which was to root out or prevent the development of movements that might oppose Washington's plans to make the world safe for capitalist investments. A corollary was the complete annihilation, if possible, of parties or groups seeking to pose a socialist or communist alternative in the United States. This last objective came closer to being reached than many young people today realize. The Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and all other radical groups in this country were very badly damaged. Part of their members and supporters were intimidated, and dropped away. Another part became demoralized, and dropped away. Worst of all was the isolation that surrounded them. Inability to get a response to their work strengthened the internal dangers that can destroy any radical movement: opportunist adventures to break out of isolation and sectarian adaptation to isolation.

Although both its ranks and influence were seriously reduced by the witch-hunt, my party managed to survive, with its revolutionary perspectives and integrity intact, until the 1960s when the political climate improved and it began to grow

again. To tell how this all happened would take another book. But the leaders of my party think that one of the elements enabling it to survive was the defense campaign waged around my case, which, although it was "only" a civil liberties case, could not be separated from the right of revolutionary socialists to exist and function legally. At the very least it enabled us to break through the shroud of silence and reach millions of people with arguments in favor of that right. If it did nothing else, even if it had not ended with my winning back my job, this alone would have justified our defense work. I know of additional results, because some people have told me that their first interest in socialism was aroused by curiosity about my case and the ideas for which I was being persecuted.

But the main thrust of your questions concerns something broader. Did civil liberties fights like mine compel the ruling class to moderate the witch-hunt? My answer is that our resistance to the witch-hunt undoubtedly had some effect on the calculations of the ruling class. Its incentive to even reconsider the question would have been much smaller if there had been no resistance; in that event, the ruling class proponents of all-out repression would have had the powerful argument that there was no need to modify the postwar policy because the whole population had accepted it. How much effect our resistance had I cannot say. I think it must have been significant, but I cannot prove it. In any case, I readily agree that it was not the sole cause of the change that was made in the mid-1950s and may not have been the main cause. The ruling class decided on that change, in my opinion, only after a careful consideration of all factors convinced it that a continuation of the witch-hunt along the lines initiated after the war was neither necessary nor in its own best interests.

If this is correct, or approximately correct, does it follow then that our resistance was wasted effort, or, by implication, that it would be wasted if we were faced with a repetition of the conditions we faced in the years after World War II? Absolutely not! In the first place, we did not have the advantage of hindsight. At the time the government was definitely moving in the direction of a police state. We did not know that the ruling class would have second thoughts about this perspective some day, and I am sure the ruling class itself did not know that. The retreat from the police state perspective was not inevitable; it could have been forestalled, for example, by the outbreak of a world war, which at that time all sides considered possible. Not to have resisted with every resource at our command would have meant relying in the last analysis on the good will or rationalism of the ruling class. That is not the kind of "realism" I ever could recommend to anyone, nor the kind that genuine radicals can accept after the experience of the United States government's role in Indochina.

I welcome these questions insofar as they are motivated by a desire to put my case into its proper (modest) framework. But I cannot go along with any suggestion that struggle was unnecessary at that time or, by implication, next time. What alternative will there be except struggle (more massive and more effective than that of the 1950s) when the ruling class again turns in the direction of a police state? Wouldn't it be stupid, suicidally stupid, to abstain from struggle on the ground that the ruling class did not go all the way last time? I insist that there is nothing at all in the history of that period to provide any basis for believing that they will not try to go much farther or even all the way next time.

You seemed to think we were on the verge of becoming a police state, but it didn't happen that way. What happened to change the whole atmosphere in this country from the one described in your book to the quite different one that prevailed in the 1960s?

The police state danger in the 1950s was real, present and ominous; it is poor logic to assume that it never existed merely because the process was interrupted and in part reversed.

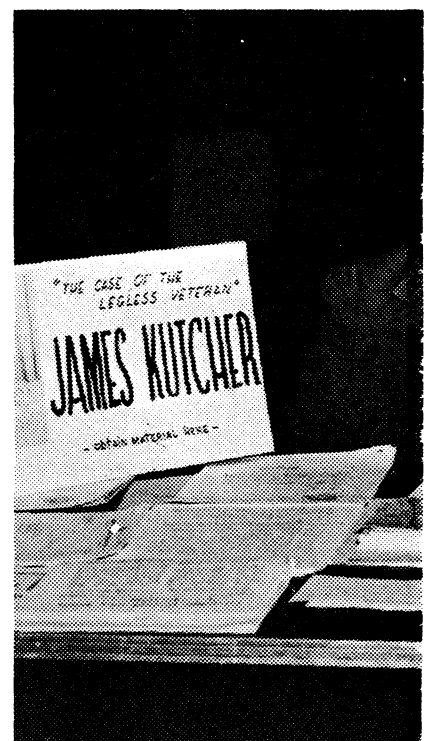
I have already said that I think the ruling class decided in the mid-1950s to suspend the process. Not because of any devotion to democratic principles, abstract or concrete; it wouldn't have taken them so many years if that had been their main concern. They did it out of carefully calculated self-interest. Weighing all the factors, international and national, they concluded that continuing the police state process at that time would do them more harm than good, would cost more than it was worth, would hamper the kind of capital-labor relations that are most profitable for the capitalists. Changes in the balance of power after the Soviet Union acquired atomic and hydrogen weapons, and the effects these had on the imminence of war; the lessons of Korea, where U.S. military might had to settle for a draw; the desire to be able to present a democratic "image" in propaganda directed to the insurgent colonial peoples; the disadvantages, overhead costs and unreliability of demagogues like Joe McCarthy; the belief that the tested weapons of propaganda and corruption were superior to naked police coercion for keeping the masses in line at home (except in special situations); perhaps the feeling that domestic threats to their power had been exaggerated—these and no doubt other considerations figured in their decision.



The Militant campaigned for Kutcher cartoon from 1949 Militant.



James Kutcher Civil Rights Defense conference October 1949. Left to right: Dr. Orville Novack, James Kutcher, Al Barbour,



Kutcher at national CIO convention where thousands of unions supported his defense.

witch-hunt of the '50s



's civil liberties. Above, Laura Gray

While one part of the answer to the above question can be explained by a decision of the ruling class, the other and bigger part relates to something that happened independently of the will of the ruling class—a radicalization of a large strata of the American people in the 1960s.

This radicalization did not assume the same forms that previous American radicalizations had taken—for example, the radicalization in the early 1900s that is associated with Eugene V. Debs, or the radicalization in the 1930s that is associated with the rise of the CIO. But like them, the radicalization of the 1960s was a result of masses of people trying to grapple with the particular contradictions of capitalism as they were expressed and felt in their own time. It began with the Black people fighting against oppression, first through peaceful civil rights demonstrations and then through explosive urban uprisings. It spread among the youth, first of all students, who began with sympathy for the Black struggle and quickly began to question the other evils of capitalism and imperialism, especially after the victory of the Cuban Revolution and the extension of U.S. intervention in Indochina.

Wouldn't it have been better to have a small defense committee that agreed with your political views than the large committee you actually had, which on the whole disagreed with them? It wasn't the members of that committee that did the basic work on your case anyway. With a smaller committee, but one that agreed with you politically, your propaganda could have been more political, more socialist in content.

Nothing but trouble can result from failing to understand the distinction between a defense committee and a political party. I already had a political party behind me, the Socialist Workers Party, doing everything within its means to help me; unfortunately, its means were restricted. What I needed was a broad committee through which I could reach out to influence people who did not already support my rights. I didn't need a committee to make political pronouncements or to express agreement with my political ideas. That would only have duplicated what the Socialist Workers Party already was doing, and it would not have opened any new doors to me. Furthermore, it was not my main task to present and defend the ideas of the Socialist Workers Party. We had a division of labor: the Socialist Workers Party presented our joint ideas to the public; my task was to explain why I, and the Socialist Workers Party, had the right to hold our socialist ideas without being persecuted for them. If, in the process, I also explained some of these socialist ideas or aroused interest in them (and that happened as frequently as it happened naturally), that was all to the good; but that was not my main job in our division of labor. Incidentally, none of the defense committee members who differed with my political views ever complained about the way I answered questions relating to my views or charged that I was using the committee as a political football.

A few years ago a Californian friend told me that he had tried to become active in a defense committee supporting Black Panther victims of police repression. He found it difficult, however, because when he attended a meeting of the committee, he was told that he could join only if he was in agreement with the Black Panther Party's program and tactics; and he was given a copy of Mao Tse-tung's little red book and told to study it. But my friend had not made up his mind about the Black Panther program—all he was sure about was that they should not be persecuted or murdered, and he wanted to help them on that basis. When he said that he was critical of Maoism, he was told not to come back. I do not question anyone's right to form committees of this type; perhaps they served a function in bringing together sympathizers of the Black Panthers. But I do question the correctness of calling such formations "defense committees." And I would not like to be in the shoes of anyone whose life or liberty depended on the ability of such a "defense committee" to win mass support.

Do you see the way your case was handled as a model to be followed in the many cases of repression against the Black liberation, antiwar and other radical movements today?

No, I do not offer it as a model. The nature of a defense campaign is largely shaped by the circumstances of the time when it takes place, especially the political climate. What you try to accomplish must be related to what seems possible. Your tactics are obviously different in a period of severe reaction and a period when millions are acquiring radical ideas. What a difference between 1948 and 1973! What a difference in the American people's reactions to the Korean War and the Indochinese War, although the basic issues were similar. At the time of my case it was quite difficult to find any lawyers to represent me, even when I consented to their making periodic declarations that they did not agree with my political views; today there are plenty of good young lawyers willing and able to defend radicals and nonconformists. Thanks to them, to

a greater unwillingness among jurors to be treated as stooges in trials involving radicals, and to changes in court rules about evidence, wiretapping, etc., radical defendants today are less certain to be convicted automatically than was the case in the 1950s. When my case began it was still possible to gain significant support from the organized labor movement; today, when the unions have become more bureaucratized and conservatized, it would be difficult to get equivalent support. On the other hand, many millions outside the labor movement have been radicalized, and offer areas of possible support that did not exist in 1948.

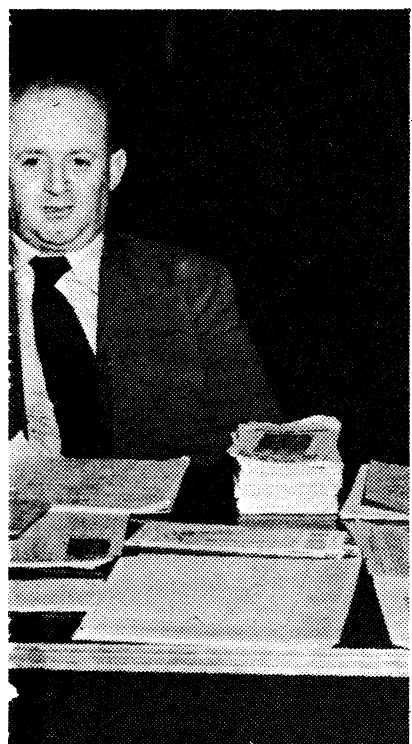
If I were called on to make an evaluation of some defense committees I have observed in recent years, my major criticism would be that they are too unimaginative and too conservative about tapping the great potential for support that exists all around them. Patient and persistent work probably could make headway in the unions even under their present leadership, and certainly could win support among the younger workers.

What, in your opinion, are the present prospects for the United States to become (a) a police state, (b) a place where the democratic rights of all will be fully recognized and enforced?

The radicalization of the 1960s moved the country farther away from a police state than the ruling class had planned in the 1950s. The Nixon administration has tried to reverse



committee banquet in Detroit in October, Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, George August Scholle, and Art Fox.



in Cleveland, November 1949. Dorf.



Radicalization of the 1960s pushed back witch-hunt atmosphere, as many young people rejected red-baiting. Above, 1962 demonstration of two thousand people against ultraright Young Americans for Freedom rally in Madison Square Garden.

this process, with partial success, but only partial success so far. It would be a bad mistake to take this threat lightly because the witch-hunt after World War II showed how much initiative can be taken and how much damage can be done in this area by a determined administration. All I am sure of is that the outcome will be decided by bitter struggle. I also think there will be much more resistance this time than there was in the 1950s.

So long as the capitalists can maintain their rule and their profits without resorting to a totalitarian dictatorship, they will do so, because it is easier and cheaper for them. As soon as their rule and their profits are seriously challenged, they will not hesitate, or at least not for long, to try to destroy whatever democratic rights they think get in their way. Those are the two poles between which the coming struggle will unfold. Even this does not tell the whole story, because prior to any decision they make about establishing a police state the capitalists are not going to go out of their way to preserve or extend democracy. Some people talk as if "repression" were a recently developed device of the ruling class, dating approximately since 1968. Actually it has always been present, used more or less in different periods, but always on hand and in reserve. We have never had complete or consistent enforcement of democratic rights in this country, and I believe we are never going to have it under capitalism. Capitalism learned to live with fragmentary, partial and often deceptive forms of democracy when it was useful or when there was no alternative, but its continued existence is incompatible with the establishment of genuine rule by the majority. Only a socialist revolution that will do away with economic exploitation, racism, sexism and cultural degradation can hope to bring to life the full blessings of democracy that capitalism talks about but has always denied the great majority.

"Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." This slogan of the early capitalist class is still timely today. I am sure it will be timely until capitalism goes, and I suspect that it will still come in handy after capitalism goes, until the last vestiges of oppression are eradicated in a new society.

Revolutionary explosion of Greek workers and students hailed by Fourth International

The following statement was issued Nov. 28 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Since April 21, 1967, Greece has lived under a military dictatorship. While this dictatorship was imposed to solve the grave crisis of bourgeois rule resulting from the prerevolutionary situation of 1963-65, it has become glaringly evident that this solution has failed.

The dictatorship of the colonels was not able to build a popular base for its policy and its regime. This resulted in the bourgeois institutions facing a continual crisis. In no way could the colonels' formal proclamation of a "republic" provide a solution.

The repression and the wage freeze that were supposed to guarantee increased profits for the Greek capitalists and their imperialist backers were unable to prevent the runaway inflation that has been undermining the economy for the past two years. The virtually uninterrupted application of martial law as well as the use of military tribunals and torture to intimidate opponents of the dictatorship proved unable to stem the powerful popular upheaval that took shape in the revolutionary explosion in Athens.

The Greek bourgeoisie had become aware of the patent bankruptcy of their policy, as evidenced during the past year by the signs of a radicalization of major sectors of the worker and student youth. In response to the way the situation was developing (and after the lamentable failure of the navy's attempted coup d'etat), the leading circles of the Greek bourgeoisie pressed for a "liberalization." In reality this shift meant only normalizing the military regime, which assumed some formal trappings of bourgeois democracy such as holding a referendum on the abolition of the monarchy, proclaiming a republic, and preparing elections.

The proclamation of a "republic" had the aim of defining a new institutional framework in the wake of the collapse of the monarchy. Naming a civilian cabinet under Markezinis, scheduling elections for 1974, and above all lifting martial law were supposed to create the conditions for establishing a strong state, which would be left as a legacy of the years of military dictatorship. The objective of the ruling class was to obtain the maximum room for maneuver in dealing with the demands of the people.

This political operation required the acquiescence of those sectors of the bourgeoisie opposed to the junta (represented by such figures as Kanellopoulos and Mavros). Their participation in the elections was intended to give credibility to Papadopoulos's project. On this condition alone could Papadopoulos be assured of full control of the key sectors of the government. The Stalinists at first took an "understanding" attitude toward this "opening," which was shown in the backing and filling of the political leaders linked to the Bureau of the Interior of the Greek CP (which is opposed to the Moscow-loyalist wing). But finally, under pressure from the popular mobilization, interlocutors for the dictatorship adopted a negative position toward the elections. This ruled out in advance any possibility of operation "normalization" gaining credibility.

The student vanguard, whose con-

fidence had been buoyed by the struggles in the spring of 1973, took advantage of the new conditions brought about by the lifting of martial law. Just as the political consciousness and will to struggle of sectors of the working class and the peasantry were ripening, the students began organizing. A succession of strikes and demonstrations reflected this new political re-

the quality of the democratic and technical organization, and the national impact of the event that will go down in history as the Athens revolutionary explosion of November 1973. At the same time, this development shows the failure of the combined policy of the imperialists and the Greek capitalists, and most of all the acceleration of the revolutionary rise in Europe

tainly, it assures that the resistance will widen and deepen, moving toward taking the offensive. The first concrete elements of the answer that has been sought to the crisis in leadership of mass mobilizations arose in action during the revolutionary explosion in Athens.

The accomplishments of this revolutionary explosion are many. The resistance to the dictatorship has assumed a clear working-class and revolutionary character, breaking from the Stalinist class-collaborationist, popular-frontist orientations supported by the two Greek CPs, which shouted "provocation" when the barricades went up. The impetuous assault of the insurgent students, who raised the slogan "power to the workers and peasants," and the building workers, who demonstrated with banners asserting the vanguard role of the working class, shattered the bourgeois democratic illusions that had been poisoning the popular resistance to the dictatorship. Neither the curfew, nor the tanks, nor the murders were able to prevent the revolutionary mobilization of the masses. Bourgeois liberals and Stalinist reformists have tried, however, to falsify the political character of this revolutionary explosion in their press and the media they control. Their objective is to minimize the implications of this event, which are fatal for their respective policies.

The coup d'etat carried out by a new military junta on November 25 primarily reflects the weakening of the dictatorial regime and the splits within it. The situation is no longer the same as on April 21, 1967. The resistance has organized during the years of the dictatorship. It has learned how to fight, how to organize. And it is no longer paralyzed by surprise and disorganization as it was six years ago. The reformist apparatuses, notably the two Greek CPs, have lost their control over the masses and especially the youth. The rising mobilization of the European working class, in which the emigrant Greek workers have taken part, has had a direct effect on the Greek masses. The isolation of 1967 has been broken. The internationalist character of this explosion was made evident when the students shouted, "Thailand showed the way," or "Greece, Spain, Chile, forward to democracy!" The struggle for a Greek socialist revolution has scored a considerable advance.

Long live the Greek workers and students!

Down with the new military dictatorship!

Long live the Greek socialist revolution!



Thousands of students and workers occupied Athens Polytechnic University and broadcast appeals for a general strike and popular uprising to topple the dictatorship. Above, Athens Polytechnic during the upsurge . . .

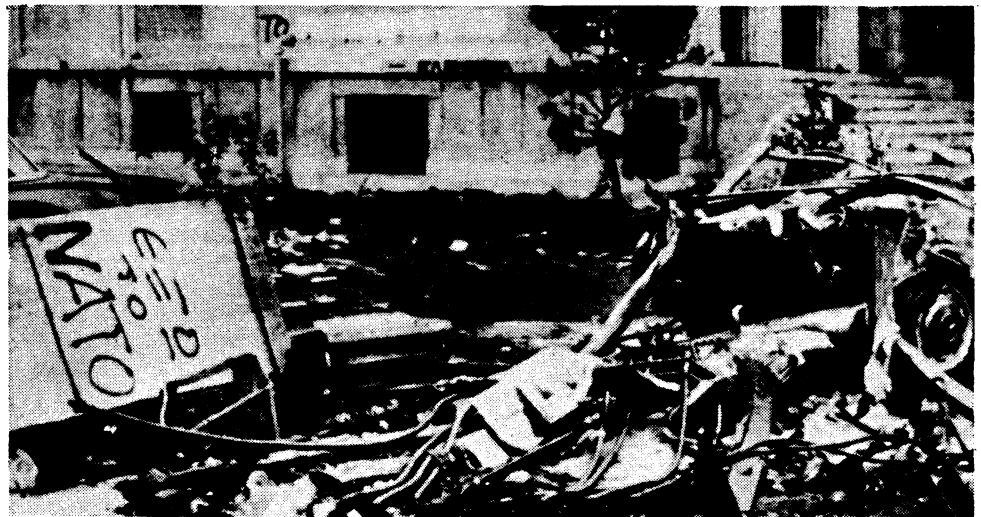
ality.

A sharp drop in the buying power of the exploited classes in recent months helped to spread the influence of the young vanguard of workers and students who stood beyond the direct control of the Stalinist and reformist bureaucracies. This gave momentum to the militant trend of the struggle.

Already placed in a precarious position by its isolation from the bourgeois politicians, who held back from Papadopoulos's operation, the Markezinis government and its pretensions were irrevocably doomed by the power of the revolutionary explosion of the Athenian workers and students on November 16. Papadopoulos's fate was sealed. This new irruption of the masses onto the scene came as a much greater threat to bourgeois rule than the mobilizations of 1965. The main feature of the events was that by its revolutionary and anticapitalist character, this social explosion broke out of the reformist limitations imposed on the resistance by the Stalinists and the bourgeois liberals since the coup of April 21, 1967. This was shown by the extraordinary combativity, the exceptionally high level of politicalization,

by sudden leaps.

The new generation of workers and students has taken the initiative in the revolutionary struggle. The demonstrations and barricades of November 1973 have created a new situation, making a turning point in the revolutionary transformation of the mass movement and the mass mobilizations. The emergence of an integrated worker and student vanguard guarantees the failure of any future "normalizations." Still more cer-



. . . and after the police and army assault.

Campuses open under martial law

Greek regime tortures political prisoners

By ANDY ROSE

Hundreds of students and workers are being held in prison and tortured by the new military regime in Greece.

These political prisoners are among those arrested during the mass uprising against the U.S.-backed dictatorship in mid-November. Some of them had just been released in an amnesty last August after spending years in jail.

The Dec. 10 *Newsweek* reported its correspondent in Greece, John Barnes, had learned "that reports of student releases in Salonika, Greece's second-largest city, have turned out to be untrue. Indeed, parents crowding outside military-police headquarters in Salonika waiting for news of their children have been told to bring fresh clothes."

The *Newsweek* report continued: "Tzeni Karezi, one of the country's top actresses, who was arrested along with her actor husband for joining the student uprising, managed to smuggle out a request for ear plugs to deaden the sounds of the screams of students being tortured in neighboring cells."

General Dimitrios Ioannidis, reportedly the strongman behind the junta that ousted former dictator George Papadopoulos, is head of the hated military police (ESA-Elleniki Stratiotiki

Astinomia). After the 1967 coup Ioannidis built the ESA into a 20,000-man secret police force, notorious for its torture of political prisoners. One of the slogans chanted by the students and workers last month was, "ESA—SS—torturers." His methods have not changed.

Martial law remained in effect as students returned to campus Dec. 3, when the junta allowed reopening of the universities.

"At Athens Polytechnic University, the headquarters of the student revolt against the Government of Mr. Papadopoulos, students milled about in the courtyard, avoiding classes," reported the Dec. 4 *New York Times*. "Three of their professors were said to be among those still detained."

"How can we go to class?" one of the students asked. "Our professors are jailed, our colleagues detained, and there have been deaths."

The new premier, Adamantios Androutopoulos, warned the students against further protests. "Our students can express their thoughts and disagreements in as lively a manner as they wish, so long as they do not disturb public order," he said. "It is not permissible for them to occupy buildings."

The amount of "lively" disagreement



IOANNIDIS: Don't mention elections

the generals will tolerate was indicated when they shut down the rightist Athens daily *Vradyni* for criticizing their failure to set a timetable for a return to parliamentary democracy.

General Ioannidis called the major newspaper publishers on the carpet and warned them to be "extremely cautious" in their use of the word "elections."

The junta said the decision to reopen the schools "reflects the sense of security and tranquility that prevails in the country since last Sunday [the day of the coup]. . . ."

The truth is, however, that the generals who replaced Papadopoulos are no closer to achieving stable capitalist rule than he was. They face the same pressures of overwhelming popular hatred for continued military rule, and mounting economic demands of the workers.

"Generals, colonels, and majors have been left literally petrified by the discovery of the deepgoing radicalization of Greek youth in the six years of the dictatorship. And most of all they are terrified by the links between these youth and not inconsiderable sections of the proletariat, small merchants, and the popular strata," wrote Mino Monicelli in the Dec. 2 issue of the Rome weekly *Espresso*.

The junta correctly believes that the

limited concessions granted by Papadopoulos encouraged the masses to demand more and thus set the stage for this fall's revolt. On the other hand, harsh repressive moves could easily spark a new uprising. So, as Alvin Shuster noted in the Dec. 3 *New York Times*, "there is general agreement among many Greeks and diplomats that those who have seized power are uncertain about what to do with it."

The junta has announced that it will govern by decree for the indefinite future, promising only that "when the country is ready it will be led to elections."

The regime's indecisiveness has conspicuously failed to win the confidence of major civilian political figures. Former minister of the interior George Rallis commented, "This is a time when you need somebody who can control both the army and the people. I doubt if this team of nobodies can do it."

Former right-wing premier Panayotis Canelopoulos, who initially refrained from criticizing the new junta, recently condemned them for "trying to do exactly as their predecessors did, not realizing that what had failed was not the persons but the system—the system of governing the country without the people's consent."

It will not be long before this isolated regime will be challenged by students and workers again raising their demands. Whatever combination of repression and concessions the generals respond with, they are going to be in a precarious position.

The effect of the November uprising on many Greeks' willingness to struggle was illustrated by what one Athenian told *Newsweek's* Barnes: "For seven years we have put up with dictatorship—imprisonment and torture. Now the blood of our children has been shed. I sat by my radio while my son was out in the streets. Next time I'll be with him."

Why U.S. backs Greek junta

One of the few questions on which the new Greek dictators have managed to take a definite position is that Greece "will remain faithful to its international obligations and its treaties."

Greece occupies a strategic spot in the NATO military alliance. This is one reason the U.S. government has propped up corrupt dictatorships there with millions of dollars in arms and aid.

The Dec. 10 *U.S. News & World Report* spelled out what Washington gets in return. It said, "The four

major American installations are: Athenai Airport, an Air Force base near Athens; a naval base at Piraeus; the Naval Communications Station at Nea Makri near Athens; and Iraklion Air Station, an Air Force base on the island of Crete.

"Six ships, all destroyers, use Piraeus as a home port, and about 1,250 naval dependents live there. An aircraft carrier may soon join them."

"U.S. service personnel in Greece include about 2,000 sailors, 2,500 airmen and 500 soldiers."

Half of cabinet members resign

Student protests increase in South Korea

The continuing student protests against the martial law regime in South Korea have forced the resignation of ten of the twenty government cabinet members, including the head of the hated Korean Central Intelligence Agency.

The resignations were announced the day after the National Assembly passed a resolution calling for freedom of the press, a "democratic parliament," and "generosity" toward the student protests.

During the last week of November not a day went by in South Korea without further student demonstrations and clashes with the riot police. At fifteen colleges and universities in Seoul and in several schools in other cities, the students continued to protest the dictatorship of President Park Chung Hee.

For the first time since the student actions began in October, church members staged a street march on November 27, after which twenty-two persons were arrested.

The next day, the largest action yet held took place at Ewha Women's University, where 4,000 students demonstrated for five and a half hours. In addition to the demands previously raised by other students, the women called for the cancellation of the Tokyo-Seoul economic conference

scheduled for December. When they began to march off campus, 300 riot police attacked and drove them back with tear gas. The following day, November 29, some 500 students at Soodo Women's Normal College also joined the growing protests and began a boycott of classes.

On November 30, about 200 journalists working at the *Joongang Ilbo*, one of the major Korean dailies, and at Tongyang radio station, staged a twenty-four-hour strike to protest government censorship of the press. Immediately after the passing of a resolution by the 4,000-member Korean Reporters Association calling for an end to restrictions on freedom of the press, the president of the association, Park Ki Byung, was arrested. The same day, the Korean Bar Association called for the National Assembly to restore legislation protecting "human rights."

More than 240 students were arrested in the course of the week's protests, most of them being released by the weekend. Two of the student leaders, however, were sentenced to prison terms, one for a year and another eighteen months.

In an effort to prevent demonstrations from spreading into the high schools, high school students in Seoul were reportedly told to start their long



Demonstration at Yonsei University in Seoul is attacked by riot police with tear gas.

winter vacation on Dec. 1, several days early.

Also on Dec. 1, the 600,000-man South Korean armed forces were ordered on alert, ostensibly in response to recent North Korean claims of territorial rights to waters around five Yellow Sea islands held by the South. The *Washington Post's* Seoul correspondent noted on Dec. 2, "Given the recent local history of domestic crackdowns, justified by claims of an external threat, suspicions

abound in Seoul that this timing is not accidental."

A growing sympathy for the actions of the students was reflected in a remark made by a former government official: "The demonstrations you see here in Seoul and elsewhere are only the tip of the iceberg. The discontent goes much deeper than that. It embraces the middle class as well as the students. But it will be the students who lead the uprising if and when it comes."

Arab auto workers hit UAW's aid to Israel

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT—One thousand people, mostly young Arab auto workers, protested the presentation here Nov. 28 of the national B'nai B'rith Humanitarian Award to Leonard Woodcock, president of the United Auto Workers Union. The demonstrators also opposed the UAW's aid to Zionist aggression through the union's purchase of Israel bonds.

Richard Gerstenberg, chairman of the board of General Motors, was the first speaker at the \$100-a-plate banquet in honor of Woodcock. He praised the UAW chief while guests peered through the plate glass windows of Cobo Hall at the auto workers demonstrating outside. There are approximately 15,000 Arab auto workers in the Detroit area, according to spokesmen for the newly formed Arab Auto Workers Caucus.

Despite rain and cold weather, the demonstrators were loud and enthusiastic. Their slogans, many in Arabic, could be heard for blocks around for more than an hour.

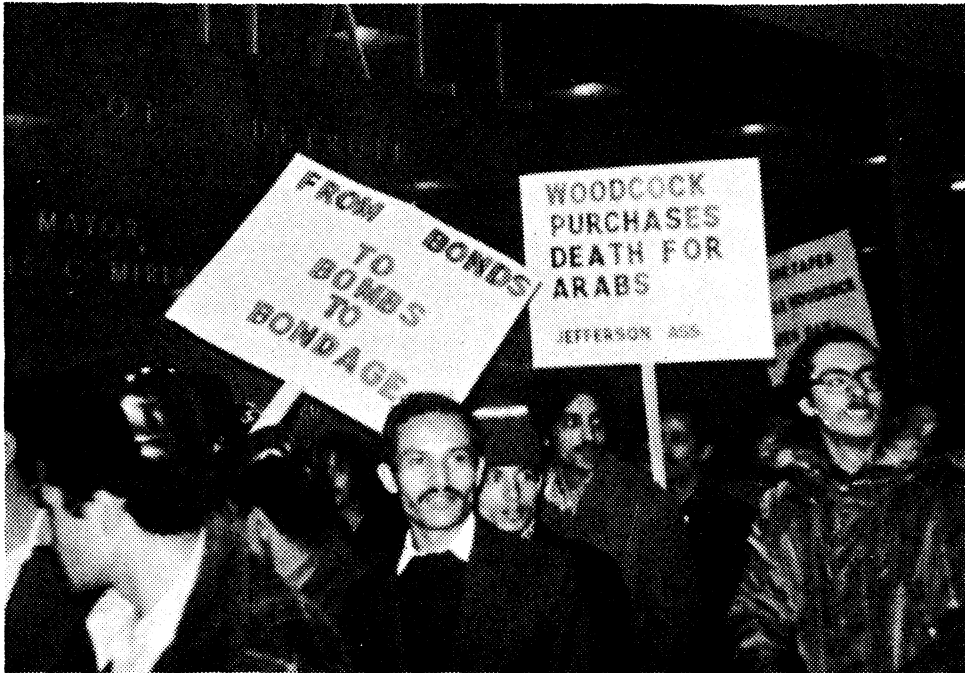
The signs on the picket line showed a wide representation of union locals and plants from the area. One sign said, "Woodcock Purchases Death for

Arabs. Jefferson Assembly." Another, from Local 600 of the UAW, said, "Stop UAW Purchase of Israeli Bonds." Signs from Locals 235 and 244 demanded, "Dispose of Israeli Bonds," while one from Local 140 said, "Finally Got the News How our Dues Being Used." Other signs were carried by workers from UAW Locals 1, 2, and 3, and the Dodge Truck, Hamtramack, and Rouge plants.

Other slogans were "U.S. Out of the Middle East," "Stop U.S. Arming of Israel," and "Israel Helps South Africa Kill Black People."

In an interview with the *Detroit News* UAW Secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey defended the union's purchase of \$785,000 in Israel bonds as a "good investment." Al Amen, a spokesman for the Arab-American Coordinating Committee (AACC), the group that called the action, pointed out that the bond purchases were made "without a vote of the rank-and-file members."

The demonstration ended with a rally at Kennedy Square. The action, which received widespread newspaper and television coverage, was the second one organized by the AACC this fall. An earlier demonstration in the Arab community during the October war drew about 3,000 people.



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

1,000 pickets demonstrated against purchase of Israel bonds by UAW bureaucrats.

Jury refuses to convict Lawton; 3rd trial looms

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Riverside, Calif., authorities have failed once again in their efforts to railroad Gary Lawton and Zarebu Gardner to prison. A second frame-up trial of the two Black activists ended Nov. 24 like the first—in a hung jury.

The prosecution, however, intends to try the two men a third time.

Lawton and Gardner were accused of conspiracy to murder two white cops in Riverside in 1971. A third defendant, Nehemiah Jackson, is being tried separately.

In the second trial the prosecution's case was even flimsier than in the first. The prosecution presented testimony by 89 witnesses, many of whom contradicted one another.

It was revealed that one key prosecution witness was offered parole, \$5,000, fake identification papers, and an airplane ticket to lie under oath against Lawton. Another prosecution witness, a heroin addict, was paid \$30 to say that he sold Lawton the

shotgun found at the site of the murders.

The trials were held in Indio, a small, conservative desert town 60 miles from Riverside.

Judge John Hews kept the jurors out for 10 days in an unsuccessful attempt to pressure them into a unanimous guilty verdict.

Even after these two setbacks in court, District Attorney Byron Morton says that he will not only seek a third trial and revocation of bail, but that he may also attempt to bring more charges against Lawton, going back to events that took place in 1968.

Lawton is being persecuted by Riverside authorities because he is a well-known Black activist in the area. Their frame-up attempt has already cost the state nearly half-a-million dollars.

Literature and speakers on the case are available from the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5154, San Bernardino, Calif. 92412.

400 Black feminists attend N.Y. conference

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

NEW YORK—More than 400 Black women attended the Eastern Regional Conference on Black Feminism here the weekend of Nov. 30. Organized by the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO), the conference's objective was "to assess, analyze, and explore priority issues of the Black woman."

"This is the first time the Black woman is being asked to apply the concept of feminism to the problems which affect her and the Black nation," said an NBFO statement announcing the conference.

The first session was opened by Margaret Sloan, chairwoman of the NBFO, who gave a brief history of the organization. The group was formed last spring.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm (D-Bklyn) gave the keynote address. Chisholm said she felt Black women should be particularly concerned with the issues of child care and the minimum wage. Support for the minimum wage for household workers was widespread at the conference.

Chisholm spoke against the argument often heard in the Black community that Black women should take a back seat to Black men.

Saturday afternoon, December 1, was devoted to workshops on aspects of the Black woman's oppression. The two largest workshops were on "Black Women and the Women's Rights Movement" and "Triple Oppression of the Black Lesbian."

The workshop on the women's rights movement was headed by Eleanor Holmes Norton, chairwoman of the

New York City Human Rights Commission. The discussion centered on forming a coalition to support a child-care bill. There was also discussion on other women's liberation issues, including abortion and equal pay.

The "Image of the Black Woman in the Media" workshop addressed itself to the stereotyped picture of Black women put forth in literature and film. In the "Black Feminist Input in Politics" workshop, women discussed the electoral process. Other workshop topics included "Black Women as Consumers," "Black Female Rape," "Sex Role Stereotyping and the Black Child," and "Female Sexuality."

Feminist attorney Florynce Kennedy addressed the Saturday evening session.

The fact that more than 400 Black women from a number of cities attended this conference is significant. It indicates an increasing interest in women's liberation among Black women. Many participants in the conference pointed out that this gathering was historic in the sense that the mass media and some Black leaders have dismissed women's liberation as irrelevant to Black women.

One weakness of the conference, however, was the lack of discussion about how to reach out to the great majority of Black women who are not involved in women's liberation activities. The conference organizers did not present a perspective for how to attract these women to the struggle.

Leaders of the NBFO have announced plans to hold a national Black women's conference in eight or nine months.

TWA stays grounded; strike enters fifth week

Negotiations between representatives of Trans World Airlines and the Transport Workers Union (TWU) began in Washington, D.C., Dec. 1.

Although the strike of 5,000 flight attendants has grounded the airline since Nov. 5, TWA is in no hurry to see the strike settled.

The Airline Industrial Relations Conference (AIRCON), which includes all major carriers in the U.S. except Delta, is providing TWA with \$2-million for each day of the strike. The result is that TWA is making money on the strike, since it has no fuel costs, payroll, or other operating expenses.

The 10 top officers of TWA make an average salary of \$170,346 a year. They have averaged salary increases of 175.4 percent during the past two years, but their offer to stewards and stewardesses was a three-year contract with increases of 3 percent the first year, 2 percent the second, and 3 percent the third—despite a 10 percent rise in the cost of living since the flight attendants' last pay increase in December 1971.

TWA's attack on the flight attendants is part of a larger offensive by the carriers and the government.

On Nov. 27 United Airlines announced the immediate layoff of 300 pilots and 650 flight attendants as a result of the "energy crisis." Such cuts are expected to spread throughout the industry.

Right now an administration-supported bill that would make arbitration compulsory in labor disputes in the air industry is before the Senate.

In addition, the Cost of Living

Council has just challenged pay increases for 5,300 mechanics employed by four airlines. The increases, which would have totalled about 15 percent by May 1975, would have barely kept up with inflation. Another aspect of the mechanics' contract was an agreement barring the layoff of mechanics because of the fuel shortage.

The TWA strike is seen as a test for the whole industry, and contributions to the strikers have come from unions at Pan American, American, and United Airlines.

Elaine Dwyer, treasurer of TWU Local 505 in San Francisco, to which the striking flight attendants belong, said the strikers are determined that "they're not going to send us back without a contract."



Militant/Chris Hildebrand

TWA strikers demonstrate in San Francisco.

Tel Aviv takes hard line

Hopes for quick Mideast settlement fade

By TONY THOMAS

Hopes of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and the Soviet bureaucrats that a quick settlement could be worked out in the Mideast were dispelled Nov. 29 when the talks between Egypt and Israel were broken off.

The Egyptian government broke off the talks after Israel refused to withdraw its troops to their position at the time of the Oct. 22 cease-fire. Such a retreat—supposedly agreed to in the Oct. 25 cease-fire resolution supported by the UN Security Council, the U.S., the Soviet Union, Egypt, and Israel—would have ended the complete Israeli encirclement of the city of Suez and the Egyptian III Corps.

According to reports by William Dullforce, *Washington Post* correspondent in Cairo, the breakdown of the peace talks and the refusal of the Is-

raelis to withdraw may jeopardize the peace conference Washington and Moscow are sponsoring on the Mideast in the middle of this month.

In a dispatch dated Dec. 2, Dullforce wrote that according to Egyptian officials, "Unless Kissinger can persuade the Israeli government to draw its army back from the Cairo-Suez road, there is a distinct possibility that Syria and Egypt will refuse to go to the conference."

Dullforce wrote that on Dec. 1 the Syrian official news agency reported that the Syrian government saw no advantage in participating in the peace conference as long as Israel had not started its withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories. Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat was quoted in the semiofficial Egyptian daily *Al Ahram* as saying that Israel's actions were

"creating dangerous tension and did not form the right atmosphere for a peace conference."

Israel's refusal to make any motion toward minimal withdrawals is undermining Sadat's policy of attempting to align with Washington in the hope that U.S. imperialism would somehow force its Israeli client-state to make concessions to Egypt.

Dullforce's sources within the Egyptian officialdom report that Sadat had "difficulty" selling this line to the other Arab states. Last week we reported how Sadat has had even greater difficulty selling this line to the Egyptian people.

More than one hundred Egyptian students have been arrested. Palestinians and Libyans have been expelled from the country. Those arrested are part of a strong current of opinion for resuming the military struggle against the Israeli aggressors. Many no doubt feel that Washington's long-term support to Israel, most recently during the October war, makes Sadat's policy utopian.

Israel's refusal to budge from its Oct. 26 lines is even making an impression on Sadat. Dullforce's sources informed him that Sadat had told a U.S. diplomat that continued U.S. military aid and other support to Israel was encouraging Israel "to ignore the lessons of the October war."

Dullforce continued, "Egyptian officials expressed a hardening in Egypt's stand toward American-backed peace moves. They suggested that the confidence established between

Sadat and Kissinger at their meeting here Nov. 7, which produced the Egyptian-Israeli cease-fire agreement, has been shaken by the failure to execute that agreement fully. Egyptian officials and others indicated a growing suspicion here that Egypt and the Arabs may once again be tricked by the United States and Israel."

Kissinger is supposed to visit Egypt Dec. 13 in an effort to patch up relations, and both the Egyptian and Israeli regimes are trying to work out conditions under which the talks at Kilometer 101 on the Cairo-Suez road and the proposed peace conference in Geneva will take place.

However, the past month of Arab-Israeli "peace talks" has shown that the interests of U.S. imperialism lie with the preservation of Israel. Although the U.S. may be able to force some concessions out of Israel to mollify the Arab capitalist leaders, Washington will refuse to fundamentally endanger the racist, settler-colonial state. This is why the Israelis have been able to maintain their "hard line" positions so far.

The type of settlement sought by Kissinger and Sadat involving concessions to the Arab states by Israel in exchange for Arab "recognition" and "secure boundaries" for Israel cannot bring any lasting peace to the Mideast. Such a settlement would preserve Israel as a base for imperialist-backed aggression against the Arab people, and maintain the expulsion of the bulk of the Palestinians from their homeland.



Despite peace propaganda, Tel Aviv refuses to budge from captured territory. Above, Israeli and Egyptian negotiators before truce talks were broken off.

Ben-Gurion: founder of racist settler-state

By TONY THOMAS

David Ben-Gurion, called "the father of Israel," died on Dec. 1 at the age of 87. Richard Nixon implored Americans to "take from the example of his life increased conviction. . . ."

Nelson Rockefeller, whose family owns the largest share of the Mideast's oil, proclaimed: "To me, David Ben-Gurion was the very incarnation of Israel, a towering symbol of man's struggle for liberty and human dignity, the builder of a nation, the hope of millions, a giant among the statesmen of our time. . . ."

The editors of the *New York Times* hailed him as "The Patriarch" and compared him to "the Biblical prophets he so revered."

What did Ben-Gurion do to earn such plaudits from the leading voices of world imperialism?

David Ben-Gurion emigrated to Palestine from Russian-held Poland in 1906. In Palestine he became a journalist and organizer of Zionist trade unions and a supporter of the "Socialist Zionist" Poale Zion group, which later became part of Israel's Mapai Party.

Ben-Gurion's allegiance at that time was to the Turkish government, which held Palestine and the rest of the Arab world under its colonial grip. Ben-Gurion went to Istanbul in 1908 to study Turkish law and ingratiate himself with the Ottoman authorities. His hope, like that of other Zionist leaders, was to collaborate with whatever colonial power held sway in the area. This was seen as the only way the Zionist colony could be set up, since it was opposed by the entire Palestinian population.

Following this strategy, reported the Dec. 2 *New York Times*, in "early World War I, Mr. Ben-Gurion wrote

articles advocating the creation of a Jewish battalion in the Turkish Army." Rebuffed by the Turks, Ben-Gurion went to the U.S. in 1915. When it appeared that Turkey would lose colonial domination over the Arab East to Britain, Ben-Gurion then agitated for and organized an American and a Canadian Jewish battalion to fight with the British *against* the Turks.

Ben-Gurion thus had the dubious distinction of having advocated that Jews fight for both sets of imperialist powers in the first world war with the hopes that whatever colonialist power won, it would aid the Zionists in displacing the Palestinian people.

In the 1920s and 1930s, Ben-Gurion rose in the Zionist movement and became the general secretary of the Histadrut, the Zionist labor front. He later became head of the Jewish Agency, the executive body of the Zionist movement in Palestine. The Histadrut's main accomplishment during this period was a violent campaign to prevent Arabs from being hired in industry and agriculture.

In the 1947-49 war, Ben-Gurion, as premier of the provisional Zionist government and later leader of the state of Israel, directed Zionist military and political operations. These operations included a campaign of massacres of Palestinians and seizures of their lands, culminating in the expulsion of three-quarters of a million Palestinians from their homeland.

Ben-Gurion remained prime minister of Israel until 1953, when he resigned. He reassumed control of the ministry of defense and later the office of prime minister in 1955. As the *Times* acknowledges, in this period "under Mr. Ben-Gurion, Israel adopted a policy that led to war" with the Arab states.

In 1955 and 1956, Ben-Gurion launched a campaign of military aggression that included bombings, commando raids, and other attacks against Jordan, Syria, and Egypt.

Ben-Gurion, like his successors, tried to justify these brutal Israeli raids as "retaliation." Even the *Times* felt constrained to point out that "in balance,

at least five or six Arabs died for every Israeli killed."

This campaign culminated in the October, 1956, Israeli, French, and British war against Egypt, following Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal. Ben-Gurion stated that his aim in this war was to topple Nasser's regime because of its anti-imperialist measures and to permanently seize the Sinai Peninsula and the Gaza Strip.

Ben-Gurion retired from his post of prime minister in the early 1960s. However, he remained true to the racist and expansionist doctrines of Zionism. In 1970 he stated that he believed Israel still needed "another five or six million Jews."

He specified, however, that these millions should be European Jews and not the Afro-Asian Jews who are the majority of Israel's Jewish population. Ben-Gurion was wary that these Afro-Asian Jews would transform Israel into "just another Levantine state."

While the Nixons and the Rockefellers of this world are mourning the death of Ben-Gurion, they have nothing to say about the plight of the Palestinians who have faced 25 years of national oppression enforced by the state of Israel. None of these people are mourning the thousands of Jews and Arabs who have died in the four Arab-Israeli wars and the countless Israeli "retaliatory" operations.

The real fighters for liberty and human dignity in the Mideast are not the imperialist agents like Ben-Gurion. The real fighters for peace, liberty, and human dignity are those who stand up against Israeli colonialism, those who struggle for the establishment of a united democratic Palestine in which Jews and Palestinians can have equal political, cultural, social, and economic rights.



BEN-GURION: Served Turks, British, and Americans

...United Mine Workers open convention

Continued from page 24

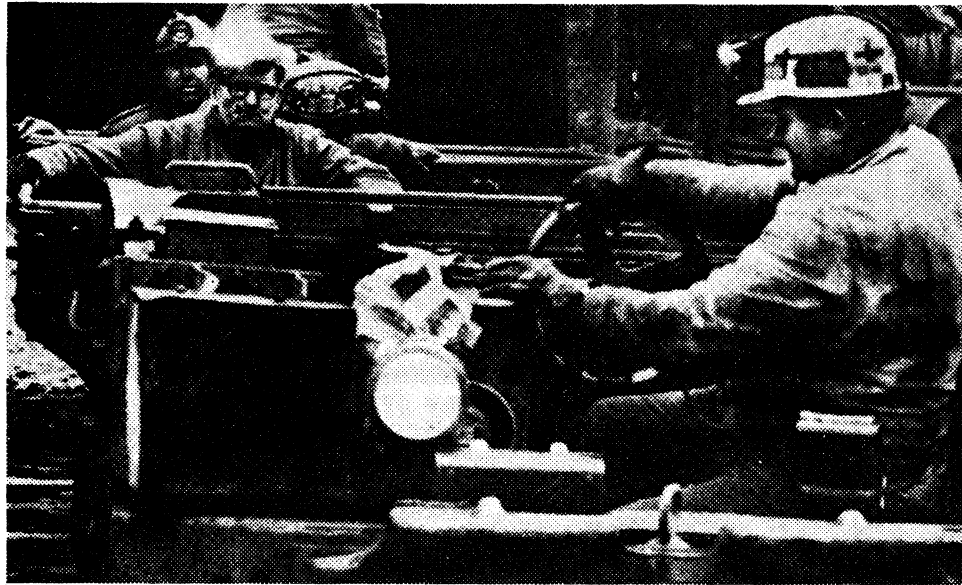
give coal miners a cost-of-living clause that will keep us one step ahead of galloping inflation. In 1974 we're going to ask them for one."

Miller pledged that the leadership would negotiate the new contract according to the goals set by the convention and would not sign a contract unless it was approved by the rank and file. He added that they would write that contract in "coal miners' language" so you wouldn't need a

of dying so that the men in the board rooms of New York and Boston and Pittsburgh can get rich. . . .

"We can't afford to wait until the coal industry develops a conscience. We can't afford to wait until the Bureau of Mines . . . recognizes that its mission is to protect coal miners—not strike a balance between safety and profits. . . ."

Miller's plan for enforcing mine safety included electing "our best and toughest men to our safety committee,"



Miller pledged major fight for enforcement of safety standards in mines. 'Coal miners,' he said, 'are tired of dying so that men in the board rooms of New York and Boston and Pittsburgh can get rich.'

"Philadelphia lawyer" to understand it.

Safety in the mines will be a major fight of the union next year, Miller predicted. "The United Mine Workers of America is going to enforce safety to the letter, with no ands, ifs, or buts, and if that is not acceptable to some coal operators, they had better find a new way of making a living, because coal miners in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania are tired

putting a safety committeeman on every shift, the full support of the national staff to "defend your right to walk out of an unsafe mine," and prosecution of companies and foremen who violate mine safety laws.

Miller blamed the current "energy crisis" on the oil companies and maintained that there is no scarcity of energy resources:

"Beneath our feet lie 1.3 trillion tons of coal. That's enough to fuel our

nation for the next 600 years. . . .

"We will never solve the energy crisis as long as we allow corporate interests to dictate the nation's energy policies, yet apparently that's just what President Nixon intends to do. . . . Just last week the administration announced it is bringing 250 oil executives to Washington to alleviate the energy crisis. You've heard the old saying about foxes in the hen house? Well now we've got wolves in the White House. I've never seen a more sure-fire formula for disaster."

Miller went on to discuss the successful drive of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia for black lung legislation and the lesson they learned from that fight: ". . . if coal miners organize and work as one, we don't have to settle for politics as usual in the coal fields."

Miller discussed two tasks of the convention in continuing the democratization of the union—rewriting the union constitution to guarantee the rights of the membership (such as the right to vote on contracts), and a proposal to move the union headquarters out of Washington, D.C., and bring it back to the coal fields. Further reports at the convention will outline the union's drive to organize the unorganized.

Guest speakers include César Chávez, president of the United Farm Workers; Leonard Woodcock, United Auto Workers president; Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME); and senators Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.) and Richard Schweiker (R-Pa.).

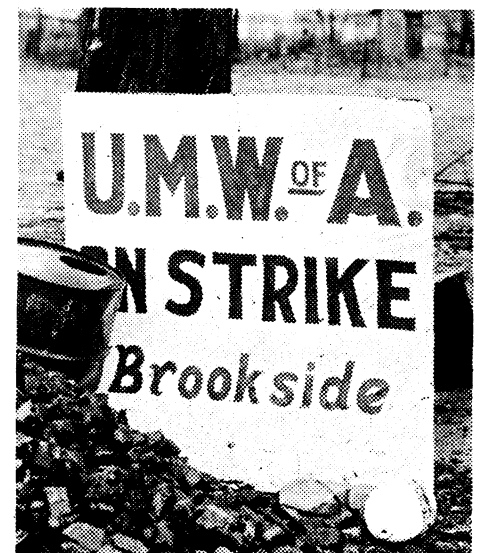
The first day's business at the convention stood in stark contrast to the way UMWA conventions have been run in the past. Under the leadership of both John L. Lewis and "Tony" Boyle, the selection of delegates and

the procedure at the convention itself were totally undemocratic.

During the Boyle-run conventions, union locals made up mostly of retired miners often received as many delegates as large locals of working miners. The union leadership was always willing to help pay transportation for "friendly" delegates, but some locals had no representation, because they could not afford to send delegates.

At the conventions themselves, goons were used to silence any delegate wishing to raise a criticism of the leadership. At the 1964 convention, for example, Boyle had thugs stationed at the microphones who beat up several miners trying to get the floor.

The current convention is proceeding in an open, democratic manner. The working committees, which will bring in resolutions on major issues, are made up of a majority of rank-and-file delegates. Their proposals will undoubtedly reflect many of the needs of coal miners today.



Militant/Vicki Griffiths

Brookside, Ky., strike is one of issues to be discussed at United Mine Workers' convention.

...Women back striking Kentucky miners

Continued from page 24

strike and their wives play an important role in organizing picket lines and battling with the cops.

The Brookside miners and other men active in the strike here are proud of the role the women are playing. One male strike activist, writing in the Appalachian magazine *Mountain Life and Work*, explained "the fact that the Women's Club carries switches to whip scabs with."

"This may seem odd to an outsider, who is used to women belonging to clubs that are concerned with things like poetry or flowers. But life is different in Harlan County, Kentucky,

than it is in most of America. So stopping scabs who want to cross union picket lines is a natural goal of the club. It is true that sometimes the women have to whip the little scabs."

As a result of the women's activities, several have been arrested for so-called violations of the court order limiting picketing. The judge fined the women \$500 each and then sent them to jail because they couldn't afford to pay this exorbitant sum.

One of those jailed told *The Militant*: "All the girls that weren't in with us came down and brought us cigarettes and stayed with us. The jail conditions were cramped and real messy. We had to leave the lights on all the time to keep away the roaches. The rats would run across the floor in wide open daylight."

A few of the women, whose husbands were also arrested, had to bring their children to jail too, since there was no other way to care for them. Dorothy Johnson, for example, brought her three daughters, age seven, six, and two, into the cell with her.

Johnson told *The Militant* that a man from the child welfare department had the nerve to try to take away the children because a jail was not a "fit" place for them to live! "We run him out of the jail," she added.

Johnson was also indignant over the charge made in one newspaper that it was "unmotherly" to have kept the children in jail. "What was I supposed to do with my kids?" she asked.

Judge F. Byrd Hogg, who is himself a mine owner, released the women and men after two days. But he placed them all under court order not to join any more picket lines, and told them they must encourage their families and friends to stay away from the picket lines as well. It doesn't appear that his orders have had much effect.

"If they take one of us to jail," de-

clares Gussie Mills, "they're going to have to take all of us. We're all going to go so the jail can't hold us."

Although the strike has already gone on for a long time, the women and the miners are determined to keep up the fight. "If the company won't sign the contract," says Mills, "why we're going to put us a Christmas tree up here right on the picket line."



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

'If they take one of us to jail, they're going to have to take all of us.'

'100% union woman'

The following was written by Gussie Mills, the president of the Brookside Women's Club. The club has played a prominent role in supporting the strike against the Eastover Mining Company. Despite the fact that she cannot walk without crutches, Mills is a regular participant in the predawn picket lines outside the mines.

I would like to speak for myself and many others in Eastern Kentucky. My husband, Brice Mills, cut coal in the mines. He started work when he was 14, tamping ties on the railroad. Then his uncle took him into the mines and taught him to run a coal machine. He worked in the cold mines for 35 years.

My husband was here in 1931 when the big fight took place at the Bell Crossing in Evarts, Ky. Three company thugs and one striking miner died in that battle.

During those fights, the coal operators had machine guns on each side of the mountain and people were taken to jail, to the funeral home, and some to the hospital. Many men were sent to the penitentiary over the battle at Evarts.

It's a small wonder that I'm on the picket line on crutches. I probably would have been dead if it had not been for the UMWA hospital card. Nor could I have afforded a doctor to have my son, Brice Jr. My husband died three months before my son was born.

I have raised my son on a widow's small pay. I am proud of my son and I am proud of my husband. He was a 100 percent union man and I'm a 100 percent union woman. I will be on that picket line at Brookside until the company signs that UMWA contract.

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Militant 45th Anniversary Fund

Over the \$25,000 mark; one week to go

By ANDREA MORELL

The Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund went over the \$25,000 mark this week. From anniversary celebrations in three cities, \$1,422 came in, and individual contributions mailed in \$86 this week. This adds \$1,508 to last week's total and gives us \$25,270.

The Militant rally in Washington, D.C., wound up a weekend socialist educational conference. The featured speaker was Elizabeth Stone, a member of the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party. She told the rally, "There is no other newspaper

like *The Militant*." She spoke of the unique role of *The Militant* in getting out the truth about Chile, the "energy crisis," and Watergate.

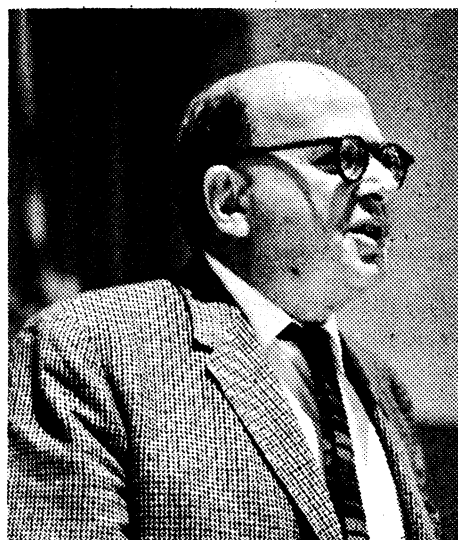
"*The Militant* has been the only paper that has drawn the lessons of the defeat in Chile," she said, "and presented a strategy that can prevent similar defeats in the future."

In response to Watergate, Stone told the rally, *The Militant* has been campaigning for "an entirely different kind of political party than the capitalist parties—a party that can organize and involve the masses of working people in political action, that can challenge the power of the ruling class with the power of the workers."

The Washington, D.C., rally was attended by 60 people and collected \$660 for the Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund.

One hundred and fifty people attended *The Militant* banquet in Los Angeles. Featured speakers were Bobby de la Cruz from the United Farm Workers and Harry Ring of the Southwest Bureau of *The Militant*. Alberto Ortiz, one of the defendants in the Los Tres case, attended the banquet, as did Arab students from the University of Southern California. \$1,650 was collected at the banquet, of which *The Militant* will receive \$742.

A joint Oregon, Washington, and Vancouver, B. C., celebration was held for *The Militant* in Seattle. Speakers were Jackie Henderson, a leader of the Canadian Trotskyist movement; Olga Rodriguez, 1973 SWP mayoral candi-



Militant/Walter Lippmann

Harry Ring of the Militant's Southwest Bureau spoke to 150 people at the Militant anniversary banquet in Los Angeles.

date from Los Angeles; and George Kontanis, a member of the SWP who recently returned from Greece. \$130 was collected toward *The Militant* fund drive.

This week's *Militant* contains more on-the-spot coverage made possible by contributions from our readers. The article on the coal miners' strike in Kentucky is the result of a trip by Cindy Jaquith, *Militant* staff writer, and Vicki Griffiths, captain of the southeastern Young Socialist traveling team. Jaquith and Griffiths spent three days in Harlan County, Ky., gathering information and interviews from

the striking miners and their supporters.

This is the last week of the fund drive, and a final push is needed. Every contribution, no matter how small, will help us expand our coverage and keep up with rising prices of paper and postage. Send in your contribution to *The Militant* right away.

This is also the last week to order a copy of *The Militant: 45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism*. A complimentary copy is sent to each contributor of \$45 or more.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Elizabeth Stone, Political Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party, at Militant rally in Washington, D.C.: "There is no other newspaper like *The Militant*."

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THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN AFRICA. Speaker to be announced. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 1849 University, Berkeley. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

BOSTON

THE ENERGY CRISIS: THE GREAT DECEPTION. Speaker: Dick Roberts, staff writer for *The Militant*. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 655 Atlantic Ave. (across from South Sta.) Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Donation: \$1. For more information call (617) 482-8050.

BROOKLYN

THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK WOMEN'S LIBERATION: HOW CAN IT BE EFFECTIVE? Speakers: Maxine Williams, recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn borough president; Ruth Rose, National Black Feminist Organization. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 136 Lawrence St. (near A&S). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 596-2849.

DENVER

THE CASE FOR AMNESTY: VETERANS & RESISTERS—CONTINUED VICTIMS OF GOVERNMENT WAR POLICY. Speakers: Tom Raush, Clergy and Laity Concerned; Phil Resor, Vietnam Veterans Against the War; Joel Houtman, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 1203 California. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 623-2825.

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NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

THE STRUGGLE IN GREECE AND THE WORLDWIDE STUDENT REVOLT. Speakers: Theodore Stathis, chairman, United Hellenic Front; Andy Rose, national chairman, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (at 4th St.) Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

NEW YORK: UPPER WEST SIDE

THE ENERGY CRISIS. Speaker: Steve Beck, NYU graduate student in urban development. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 2744 Broadway (near 105th St.) Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 663-3000.

ST. LOUIS

THE ENERGY CRISIS: WHO IS RESPONSIBLE? Speaker: Fred Murphy, national committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 4660 Maryland, Suite 17. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

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THE ENERGY CRISIS: NIXON'S LATEST FRAUD. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Dec. 14, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Fourth Floor, Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

...Vietnam

Continued from page 6

tionary Government, left China after a six-day visit there. Tillman Durdin, reporting in the November 24 *New York Times*, called the visit a "disappointment" to Tho.

"His visit failed, during three days he spent in Peking," wrote Durdin, "to elicit belligerent public declarations about the situation in South Vietnam that Mr. Tho very likely had hoped for from Premier Chou En-lai and other Chinese leaders."

"Speeches by Chinese during the visit, notably those by Mr. Chou, were moderate and seemed to reflect what is taken here as Peking's opposition to a large-scale renewal of the Vietnam war. . . .

"Premier Chou, in his speech at the dinner at which Mr. Tho spoke, agreed with the Vietcong leader that Saigon and its forces were regularly violating Geneva accords. He denounced the South Vietnamese Government, but refrained from any reference to the United States. His response to the visitor's speech was unspecific, relatively mild and pro forma."

In other developments in the Indochina war, insurgents in Cambodia captured the fourth government outpost of the Phnom Penh regime in a month, further isolating the puppet forces of Lon Nol. With the dry season approaching, more actions by the Khmer Rouge can be expected.

...W'gate

Continued from page 7

the holes in the stories of Nixon's attorney and secretary, Fred Buzhardt and Rose Mary Woods, have been further enlarged by the statement of Alexander Butterfield, the former White House aide who first revealed the existence of the taping system.

Butterfield said he had listened to two of the tapes and "you could hear every word." He said he thought it was "totally unrealistic" to think that "when the president of the United States gives an order that he wants equipment installed . . . for the express purpose of picking up all words spoken" that there would have been any slip-up in the taping or deficiencies in the equipment.

...hospital

Continued from page 13

trol agencies, hospital workers would not have won the wage increase they got last year . . . 11 months late. He argued that they must remain on the government boards to fight later this year when the hospital union appeals the unfair decision on wages.

Many hospital workers did not appear to be convinced. They no longer care about hollow "victories" of the past or promises of future recoveries in a losing game. They want to know what to do now to prepare better for the future. Steinberg had no answer for them.

Henry Nicholas, a Black leader of Philadelphia hospital workers and secretary-treasurer of the new union, spoke on the policy of the present leadership. His talk was directed to the critics of Davis and his administration.

Nicholas said, "some of our 'friends' say that we are not militant enough, that we need to make a revolution." His answer was that the unions must strive to exercise political power. The tenor of his remarks left no doubt that the leaders of the hospital workers union see "political power" coming through support to the Democratic Party. They have no intention of embarking on independent political action in advance of other unions.

There was also no doubt that Nicholas's remarks were meant as a warning to "irresponsible" critics, while trying to attract support from a dissatisfied rank and file. His comments were intended to lay the basis for tightening up the administrative functioning of the union.

The working sessions of the convention that followed the opening rally were closed to all hospital workers except the 106 elected convention delegates and alternates.

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Women back strike by Kentucky miners

By CINDY JAQUITH

BROOKSIDE, Ky. — "They ain't going to scab this mine. They can close it down, but they ain't going to scab it." It is in this spirit that members of the Brookside Women's Club gather every morning on the picket line outside the Eastover Mining Company here.

The club is a determined group of wives, daughters, aunts, and friends of miners who are in their fourth month of a strike against Eastover.

Last summer, the men voted by more than 2 to 1 to be represented by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), rejecting the Southern Labor Union, a company union that had been installed by the coal operators. The vote was 113 to 55.

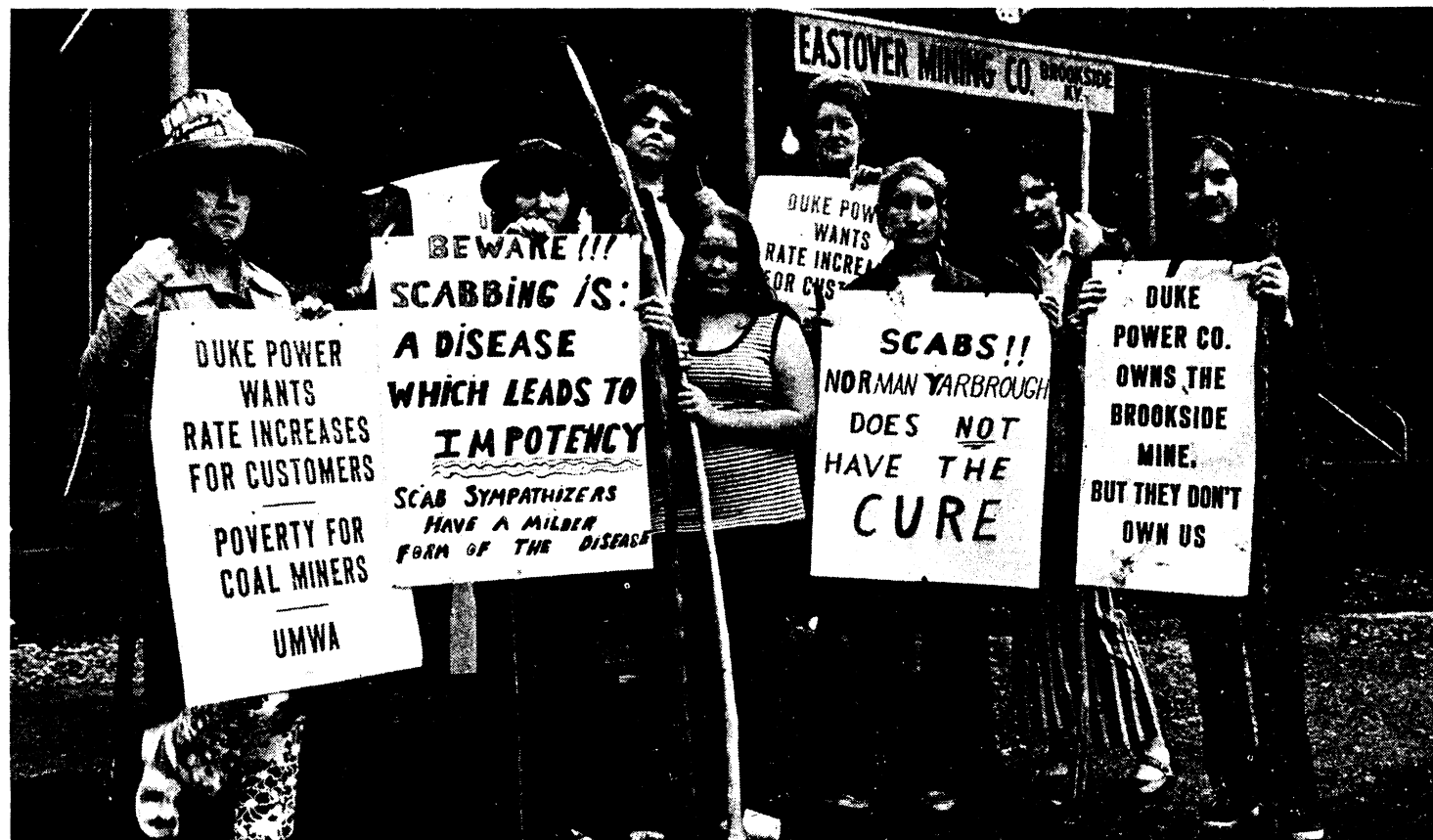
But Eastover—which is owned by Duke Power Company—has refused to accept the UMWA contract terms. These include a tripling of payments for miners' health and retirement funds, improved safety, and the right to strike.

The Brookside Women's Club, formed in the course of the strike, has played a crucial role in preventing Duke Power from breaking the strike. In October, the company obtained an injunction barring more than three pickets at each entrance to the mine. Then they brought in scabs.

"They had the pickets limited here at these entrances, and the men were just having to sit here and watch the coal being run," explained Gussie Mills, president of the club. The women decided they had to do something, so they organized a demonstration in Harlan, the main town a few miles away.

About 50 women came out on the march, which wound its way through the town, stopping at the court house, the local newspaper, and the coal association—the bosses' organization.

"Once the women got started, there



UMW Journal/Earl Dotter

Women supporters of striking Brookside, Ky., miners are determined to keep scabs away from Eastover Mining Company. Eastover's president, Norman Yarborough, has tried unsuccessfully to break the strike through court orders and arrests.

was no stopping them," said Houston Elmore, an international organizer for the UMWA. The women got into cars and drove back to the Brookside mine. By that time their numbers had doubled or tripled.

The women waited for the scabs to come out of the mine and then "we talked with them, and we fought with some of them," explained Mary Widenor. The experience was a painful one for some of the scabs, and no scab has dared cross the picket lines since.

For the last 10 weeks, not an ounce of coal has been mined at Brookside. "And the company store ain't run either," says Mills. "We stopped them from putting stuff in the store. We don't allow the trucks to stop here."

The women also sent a delegation to nearby High Splint mine to explain the issues of the strike to miners there. Two company goons, called "gun thugs" here, tried to block their way.

A 20-year-old woman told *The Militant*, "One of the thugs jumps out of

his station wagon and says, 'I'm going to shoot someone. Who's first?'" The women were not intimidated, however, and two-thirds of the High Splint miners walked out that day in solidarity with the strike.

Members of the Brookside Women's Club like to compare their struggle with that depicted in the film *Salt of the Earth*. In the film—which the UMWA showed here recently to strike supporters—Chicano miners go out on

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United Mine Workers open convention

By KAREN PEWITT and FRED STANTON

PITTSBURGH—Under the banner "For a rank-and-file union," more than 1,000 delegates and guests filled the hall as the forty-sixth constitutional convention of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) began here Dec. 3. The convention will run two weeks.

Representing coal miners from Wyoming to Nova Scotia, many of the delegates are attending their first UMWA convention. Most of the delegates are between 40 and 60 years old. The scattering of young delegates represents the new generation of workers coming into the union today.

The tone of the proceedings was serious and militant. Keynoting the meeting, Lou Antal, president of Dis-



MILLER: 'The pick and shovel days are over.'

strict 5 in Pennsylvania, characterized this as "the first unbossed convention of the UMW." He pointed out that it was being held in the coal fields, as opposed to Miami or Denver, previous sites of UMW conventions.

Antal also reviewed the union's history and the progress it has made in the year since the opposition led by Arnold Miller won the leadership. Miller was elected UMWA president on a pledge to restore union democracy and turn the UMWA into a fighting instrument for miners.

In his state of the union address, Miller outlined some of the problems and tasks of the Mine Workers today. He said, "the pick and shovel days are over, and we intend to let the coal industry know it in our next contract." He noted that the steel, rubber, auto,

and other unions that the UMW helped to build in the 1930s have won benefits the coal miners don't enjoy: cost-of-living clauses, limits on involuntary overtime, and decent pensions.

Miller predicted that the operators who are trying to make the most profits they can out of the "energy crisis" would plead poverty when the UMW demands those benefits. "To hear the operators tell it, the coal industry is the oldest nonprofit organization in the nation. Don't you believe it," he said.

"Coal that was selling for \$15.77 a ton in January is selling [for] \$20 a ton today, and the energy crisis ensures that it will be a seller's market for years to come. The boys in the company board rooms can afford to

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